

# THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—BIBLICAL STUDIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

1. *Biblia Sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria a STRABO FULDENSI, collecta . . . et Postilla NIC. LYRANI; cum Additionibus PAULI BURGENSIS ac MATTHÆ THORINGI Replicis, theologorum Duacensium studio emendatis.* 6 Vols. folio. Antverpiæ, 1637.
2. *Bibliotheca Sancta a F. SIXTO SENENSI, Ord. Præd., ex præcipuis Catholicæ ecclesiæ authoribus collecta.* Ed. tertia. Fol. Coloniae, 1586.
3. JO. GEORG. ROSENMULLERI, *Historia Interpretationis librorum sacrorum in ecclesia Christiana.* 5 Vols. 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1814.
4. *De Medii Ævi theologia exegetica, scripsit E. C. G. ELSTER.* Gottingæ, 1855.

IN April, 1885, the Marquess of Bute read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a paper in which he described and translated a curious Latin manuscript of the fourteenth century, entitled *Passio Scotorum Perjuratorum*. It was in fact a comic and satirical history of the events of 1306, in the form of a parody on Scripture. The satire was bitter enough, but more remarkable was the author's ingenious, if irreverent, use of Biblical phraseology taken largely from the Books of Judges and Kings, the Gospels, and in particular the narrative of the Passion. Lord Bute, on apparently good grounds,

assigned the composition to the early part of the year 1307. In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, a learned divine expressed his doubts of the proposed date solely for the reason that such familiarity with Scripture as is here exhibited would be in contradiction to all our well established beliefs regarding the universal ignorance and neglect of the Bible in the Middle Ages. If Lord Bute's manuscript was strange and instructive, the criticism upon it was no less so. The myth that Luther one day discovered the lost Bible in the cloister of Erfurt, has evidently in some quarters survived the blow given to it by Dean Maitland's *Dark Ages*.

If, indeed, it were shown that every man who took a Doctor's degree must have gone through a course of Biblical study at the university, that nearly all the chief masters of theology had written commentaries on Scripture, that throughout the Middle Ages there were learned men specially devoted to exegesis, that they compiled correctoria for the emendation of the text, scholia and glosses, concordances, harmonies and histories of the Bible, and that the sermons of mediæval preachers were often so saturated with Biblical phrases that their discourses resembled in all, except its profanity, the *Passio* of the manuscript referred to—it might yet be urged that these men were so fettered by false methods of interpretation that they could have no intelligent understanding of what they read, while the humanists and reformers by clearing away the cobwebs of allegory and mysticism which obscured its true sense, made a rational treatment of Scripture for the first time possible, and so may yet fairly be said to have 'discovered the Bible.'

For a position such as this there is no doubt some solid ground. It is, however, one thing to say that the Bible in the Middle Ages was not read, and quite another to say that it was read, perhaps much read, but to no good purpose. Even so, it needs to be more precisely determined in what manner or from what cause the study and the understanding of the Bible were defective.

It may be remarked at the outset, that if some prevalent



notions as to the kind of neglect into which the study of the Bible had fallen in those days are much exaggerated, the exaggeration is due as much to the rhetoric of Roman Catholic writers as to the prejudices of Protestants. It has already been pointed out, for example, in this *Review*, how the Jesuit Maldonatus at Paris, blamed in the severest language his predecessors, who in the long period of peace from the attacks of heretics, had allowed their weapons to grow rusty, and when the real battle came found themselves unprepared to meet the enemy, so that 'even women did not scruple to say that they knew the Scriptures better than our most learned theologians.' Undoubtedly the Reformation came at a moment when Biblical studies in the Roman Church were at an unusually low ebb. Humanism had burst upon Christendom with a flood of new learning, and with new methods of study. Some men were carried away with it so far as to imperil their orthodoxy. Timid and old-fashioned scholars were afraid to touch it. Few were able to assimilate the new learning without prejudice to their faith. The majority held back, and for the first time the leaders of orthodox learning within the Roman Church were not abreast of the best knowledge and best methods of their day. Hence the catastrophe. Old men like Cardinal Cajetan, disgusted and ashamed, went back to their Bibles and began to learn their Hebrew grammar. Young men of the rising generation, like Maldonatus, zealously set to work to reform the whole curriculum of ecclesiastical study. Meanwhile the lazy and illiterate had found an excuse for their indifference by confounding orthodoxy with ignorance, and played into the hands of their opponents. 'Priests having the cure of souls,' wrote Archibald Hay to Cardinal Beaton, in 1540, 'used even to boast that they did not know a word of the New Testament, and uttered threats against others who dared to make it a study.' Stories of this sort abound in every quarter.

It is said that Erasmus when he first lighted upon a copy of the once popular 'Mammotrectus' burst into loud laughter; and well he might if the 'Mammotrectus' fairly represented the Biblical knowledge of the time. The book was a sort of grammatical analysis of the Vulgate, compiled by the Franciscan

friar, John Marchesinus, about 1466, for the use of poor and illiterate priests to whom Latin was a difficulty. There must have been many of these illiterate priests, and if the Scottish Council of 1551 had to decree that parish priests should carefully prepare and rehearse the reading of the new vernacular Catechism, lest they should move the congregation to derision by their faulty pronunciation, it is not surprising that such men should stand in need of some elementary help before they could correctly read or translate a verse of the Vulgate. Marchesinus was, as he declares, 'impatient with his own unskilfulness, and compassionate towards the rudeness of poor clerics promoted to the office of preaching,' and therefore wrote with the view of 'edifying their understanding with etymology.' The 'Mammotrectus' was indeed food for babes. But before Erasmus saw a copy it had gone through at least 19 editions. The following is a specimen. It must be observed that Marchesinus denotes the gender of a noun by prefixing *hic hæc* or *hoc*, gives the termination of the genitive case, and is careful of his prosody and his derivations. Thus, Gen. I. :—

'*Hæc abyssus-si*, is the depth of waters ; as it were, without *byssus* and whiteness, i. e., from *a*, which is *without*, and *byssus*, which is a kind of very white linen. Here is a verse on feminines in *us* :—*Hæc paradisus*,\* *nardus*, *domus atque iacinthus*.—*Hic* and *hæc inanis*, and *hoc inane*, i. e., empty, without fruit ; the middle long. Thus a verse of Cato :—*Hoc faciunt stulti quos gloria vexat inanis*.'

The comparative decadence of Biblical learning in the century preceding the Reformation was due to various causes. The increased rage among divines for metaphysical and logical disputations overshadowed exegesis ; and the *Senten-tiarii* at the universities looked down upon the *Theologi biblici* as men engaged in an unintellectual pursuit. It is said too that the growing popularity of legal studies as being more profitable, and leading to rich fees and preferment, helped to edge out the Scriptural lectures. On the other hand when scholastic theology itself became an object of derision to the men of the

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\* Note the double false quantity, corrected in some editions by the insertion of *habet* after *paradisus*.

new learning, the older commentators shared in the contempt, for the scholastic method had in no small degree invaded the Biblical lecture; and the new philologist, discarding alike the ways of the allegorist and the schoolman, insisted that no one could make anything of the Bible who did not know Hebrew and Greek. Thus the ignorance of the illiterate, the pedantry of the scholastic, the conceit of the humanist, even the new born learning of the later Jesuit, all conspired with the revolutionary zeal of the Protestant reformer, to hand down the tradition that the light of the Bible before his time was virtually under an eclipse.

The questions then which demand answers, from an historical point of view, are these:—In what light was the Bible regarded, and to what use was it put in the Middle Ages? By what methods was it studied? Are there any clearly marked stages in the history of Biblical exegesis within the Roman Church? It is the aim of the present article to suggest answers to these questions, and, in particular, to give specimens from the standard works which characterise the period or mark progress within it. It must of necessity, therefore, have something of a bibliographical character.

First of all it should be borne in mind that at the beginning of the age under discussion (1100-1517) the evolution of theology had passed into a new stage. The Bible for the mere making of dogma had apparently been threshed out. Tradition had finally fixed the interpretation of the several dogmatic texts. Peter Lombard collected them and handed them over to the Aristotelian, who, with the aid of logic and metaphysics, proceeded to build up a science of speculative or scholastic theology. It is on this account that the Benedictine editors of the *Histoire Littéraire de France*—always somewhat hostile to scholasticism—attribute the ultimate source of the subsequent decay of original Biblical research to the Master of the Sentences.

But the Bible was, to a mediæval Catholic, something more than the source of dogma. It was, in the phrase of Gregory the Great, the *Epistola Dei ad creaturam*. It was the living word by which the devout reader was brought into the

closest union with the divine mind. Its highest end was not intellectual but moral. It was the spiritual food and nourishment of the pious. The reader was taught to penetrate beneath the outer shell. Hugh of St. Victor speaks of 'the sacred page whose every particle is full of divine sacraments,' and adds, 'the philosopher knows only the signification of words—more excellent is the knowledge of things.' Thus, the elucidation of the Bible, if it slipped in some degree out of the hand of the dogmatic theologian, did not become less prized by the saint, the mystic, the master of the spiritual life, and the preacher.\*

But the expositor had little means of getting at the secrets of the Bible; beyond the light of his inner consciousness. Historical criticism as we understand it was unknown to him. Philology did not exist. The original languages of the text were long forgotten in the West; and although the commentator was, in his own way, eager in the search for the meaning of words as they stood in the Vulgate, his Latin etymologies were often grotesque. He had, however, for the purpose of edification, a method of his own which was inexhaustible; and this was the theory of the manifold mystical sense. The main business of the golden age of scholasticism was the determining and systematizing of the allegorical use of scripture, with the view of illustrating the idea that hidden under narrative and law, psalm and prophecy, Christ and his sacraments were to be found everywhere. The doctrine was of course not new. It was taken over from the Fathers, who in turn derived it from Christ and the Apostles, or from Philo and the Alexandrian Jews. It is founded on the belief that Providence so moved men's wills and ordered the events of what is called sacred history, that the whole of the Old Testament becomes a parable or symbol of the New.† St. Thomas thus formulates the doctrine.

'The author of Scripture is God. It is in his power not only to accomo-

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\* See on this subject Diestel's *Geschichte des Alt. Test. in der christlichen Kirche*. Jena, 1869 (pp. 177-188).

† 'There is nothing,' says Scotus, 'in the New Testament which cannot be extracted from the Old in some sense.'

date words to signify things (which even man can do), but also to make things themselves significant. This, while in all sciences words have a meaning, it is peculiar to this science (of Scripture) that the things themselves signified by words should also in their turn signify something else. The primary signification by which words signify things, belongs to the first sense, that is the literal or historical. The second signification, by which the things signified by the words again signify other things, is called the spiritual sense, and is founded upon the literal sense and presupposes it.

'This spiritual sense is threefold. When things of the Old Law point to things of the New, and show what is to be *believed* of Christ, we have the allegoric sense. But just as the Old Law is, according to the Apostle, the figure of the New, so, according to Dionysius, the facts of the New Law itself are figures of future glory. In as far as things done in Christ, or which signify Christ, are symbols of what we ought *to do*, they are the ground of the moral [or tropological] sense. In as far as these same facts point to eternal glory they constitute the ground of the anagogic sense.'

It is to be noted that the Angelic Doctor, replying to objections, argues that 'this multiplicity of senses gives rise to no equivocation or confusion, for it 'is not intended that one *word* means many things, but that the *thing*, signified by the word, signifies other things; and all these subsequent senses are founded upon the first, that is, the literal sense.' He adds, however, the important caution that there is nothing necessary for the faith contained under the spiritual sense, which Scripture has not elsewhere made manifest by the literal sense.

Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus, Bonaventure, in fact the scholastics universally, give in substance the same definition and division—Bonaventure also insisting that the literal sense is the one and necessary foundation of the spiritual sense. Hugh of St. Victor—on this subject a very high authority—is most explicit, and sets forth this method of interpretation with much detail and many examples, in a truly scholastic fashion. We have, he remarks, in view of this mystical sense, to take note of six circumstances,—Things, Persons, Number, Place, Time, Action.

1. The *Thing* may be two-fold in its meaning. Thus snow, in its interior nature, indicates frigidity or extinction of lusts; in its outward form, *i.e.* whiteness, it signifies purity of works.

2. *Persons*. There are persons commemorated in Scripture whose lives and works are so disposed as to bear mystical significations. Thus Jacob



who received the inheritance of his father may designate Christ or the Gentile people. Isaac who blesses his son may figure God, the Father.

3. *Places* have significance, inasmuch as the Lord has written that certain works shall be performed in particular places according to the meaning of the names. Thus the Israelites go down into Egypt on account of the famine, they are oppressed there with slavery, led thence by God into the desert, and after 40 years come into the promised land, which is situated between Babylon and Egypt, etc. But all these things are full of meaning. Egypt, a voluptuous land flowing with delights, signifies the world and secular desires. The desert signifies the religious life through which, as it were, passing into another country, we fast from the vices of the world. Babylon is placed at the North, where there is perpetual cold and darkness, since that quarter is never touched by the sun. By the Assyrians are signified devils, who have chosen for themselves a seat at the North, torpid with the cold of infidelity and deprived of the light of the truth. The Egyptians first and then the Assyrians, oppressed Israel, for the devil could do nothing against us unless we were first seduced by our concupiscences.

*Times* have significance. For example, Jesus was in the porch of Solomon 'and it was winter.' Here mention is made of winter, that by the quality of the season may be indicated the quality of souls, that is the torpor—infidelity of the Jews.

*Action.* Jesus came into Bethany and raised Lazarus. Bethany is the 'house of obedience.' Christ comes to the obedient only—to raise Lazarus, that is a soul previously dead in sin.

*Numbers* may point to mystical signification in nine different ways, i.e., according to (1) the order of position, (2) quality of composition, (3) mode of extension, (4) form of disposition, (5) computation, (6) multiplicity, (7) aggregation of parts, (8) multitude, (9) exaggeration.

*Order of position.* Thus *one*, the first of the numerals, signifies the principle of all things: *Two*, which is the second numeral, and the first to recede from unity, signifies sin, which deviates from the first good. *Quality of composition.* *Two*, which is capable of dissection, signifies corruptible and transitory things; while *Three*, where unity intervenes in the middle, cannot be thus dissected into two equal parts and so signifies incorruptible and indissoluble things.—*Mode of extension.* *Seven* going beyond six, indicates rest after work; *Eight*, extending beyond seven, Eternity after mutability.—*Form of disposition.* *Ten*, which is extended lengthways signifies rectitude of faith; a *Hundred* expanded in breadth, amplitude of charity.—*Computation of number.* Here *Ten* signifies perfection, because with it the extension of computation comes to an end.—*Multiplicity.* *Twelve* is the sign of universality, because the number is made up by the multiplication of threes into four; and *Four* is the form of corporal things, and *Three*, of spiritual things.—*Aggregation of parts.* *Six* is the form of perfection, because its parts, three, two and one, added

together make up the whole, neither going beyond or stopping short of it ; and this agrees with perfection, which is neither more nor less than what is just.—*Multitude of parts.* Two, on account of the two unities, signifies love of God and love of one's neighbour.—*Exaggeration*, gives significance to a number when it needs to be multiplied or to be taken with some exaggeration in order to correspond to the premises, as for example, 'I will chastise you seven times more for your sins,' in (Levit. xxvi. 18), where seven means many times.

The same writer gives an example of the threefold mystical sense applied to a single passage.

'There was in the land of Hus a man named Job, who from being a rich man fell into such misery, that sitting on a dunghill he was fain to scrape the sores of his body with a potsherd. The historical sense is clear. Let us come to the allegory, so that through the things signified by the words we may reflect that other things are again signified, and so learn through one fact to understand another. Job, then, whose name is interpreted "Sorrowing," signifies Christ, who from at first being equal to the Father in the riches of his glory, came down to our wretchedness and sat humbled on the dunghill of the world, sharing in all our defects except sin. Let us next enquire what, through this action (of Job's) is to be done, that is what this action indicates as worthy to be done. Job may signify some just man or penitent soul who forms in his memory a dunghill of all the sins he has committed ; and, not for an hour, but perseveringly, sitting and meditating upon this, ceases not to weep. And the literal facts which represent spiritual things of this kind are called mysteries (sacramenta).'

This system then was the natural inheritance of the scholastic period. To maintain as Luther maintained, that we must not extend the number of types beyond those actually named in the New Testament, would have seemed to the scholastic mind as illogical and arbitrary as to say that we should not give credence to any miracles which do not happen to be mentioned in the Bible. As the miracles there recorded suggested to the ecclesiastical historian what he might expect to find in perhaps greater abundance in the lives of Christian saints and martyrs ; so the allegory of the two sons of Abraham, which no one could have easily discovered if it had not been disclosed by the Apostle, was a sufficient hint to the mediæval commentator that if he used his eyes, in the light of that analogy, he would discover a thousand similar mysteries.

The 13th century opened with some promise for Biblical

studies. The leaders of Christian thought, Lanfranc and Abelard, St. Bernard and Rupert of Deutz, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, had all in one way or another given a fresh impulse in this direction. It must not be forgotten that even the Master of the Sentences (1164) wrote commentaries on the Psalms and Pauline Epistles, while in the next century the most prominent scholastics, Alexander Hales, Albert the Great, Aquinas, Bonaventure, Ægidius Columna, by their various exegetical works left an example which was not neglected by their followers. But the standard model and authority in the schools of the 13th century was not a production of their own age, but an inheritance from an earlier period. This was the famous *Glossa Ordinaria* of Walafridus Strabo, a Benedictine monk of Fulda in the first half of the 9th century. It was the fashion of the schools to take one book in each science as a standard text, and to invest it with pre-eminent authority. What Aristotle's *Ethics* was to the moralist, the Master of the Sentences to the dogmatic theologian, or Gratian's *Concordia* to the decretalist, that the *Glossa* was to the student of the Bible. Peter Lombard refers to it simply as '*Auctoritas*.' It was generally known as 'the tongue of Scripture.' On what grounds it was so highly esteemed is not apparent. The name is misleading, for it is by no means short. It is in fact a selection made from the commentaries of the Fathers, and particularly from those of Strabo's own revered master, Rhabanus Maurus. The author's name is generally, but not always, placed before the extract cited, and although Strabo professes to give the historical exposition as well as the mystical, the historical is often in itself allegorical. Sometimes more than one interpretation is offered, but as a rule a single one is selected, and that not always with the best judgment. In the 12th century, Anselm, Dean of Laon, and a professor of theology at Paris, composed a very much briefer Gloss, called the *Interlinearis*, as it was written in small letters between the lines of the larger text, while the *Glossa Ordinaria* occupied the margins of the page. They were commonly printed together, with the addition of the *Postillæ* of Nicholas de Lyra—the whole work making six, or in some editions, seven

thick folio volumes. Strabo's comments on the various books are naturally unequal, being brief in the purely historical portions and expanding on any passages which give scope for allegory and 'moralities.' The explanation of the first chapter of Genesis occupies many columns. A paragraph headed with the name of Jerome runs thus :—

*In principio* . . . many think, with Tertullian and Hilary, that in the Hebrew it stands '*In the Son* he made,' etc. The LXX, indeed, and Symmachus, and Theodotion, translated, '*In the beginning* and in the Hebrew the word is *Breschith*, which Aquila interprets *in capitulo*. It should therefore be rather understood, both according to the sense and the translation of Christ, who in the very front of Genesis (which is the head of all the books) and in the *In principio* of John, is shewn as the maker of heaven and earth; thus, Ps. xxix, '*In the head of the book it is written of me,*' that is, in the beginning of Genesis.

The Interlinear Gloss has here more briefly, '*In the beginning of time, or, before all things, or, in his Son, God created* . . . *heaven*, spiritual men who meditate upon heavenly things and *earth*, carnal men who have not put off the earthly man,' etc. On the work of the second day Strabo asks why God did not, as in the case of other days, declare that it was good. He answers with St. Jerome that the omission was on account of the evil principle implied in the binary number, which first departs from unity and becomes a figure of bigamy and other reprehensible things (thus, unclean animals entered the ark two by two, while the clean were represented by an odd number); or, because in this day's work the division of waters was not yet completed. On the story of Cain and Abel, the Glossa remarks that the two brothers represent respectively the Jews and Christian people. Cain was a husbandman, i.e. devoted to earthly labours; Abel, a shepherd, preferring the simplicity and innocence of sheep. The mark set upon Cain was the sign of circumcision and of carnal observance, which distinguishes the Jews from all other races.

On the command to man *crescite et multiplicamini*, the Ordinaria observes that marriage thus instituted by the heavenly blessing is not to be condemned even though virginity should be preferred; and the Interlinearis on the following words *replete terram*, ingeniously hints at a higher reference to virginity.

'Marriage fills the earth, virginity fills heaven.' Nimrod, 'who, in defiance of nature, wished to penetrate to heaven, signifies the devil, who said, "I will ascend above the stars of heaven." It is added that, historically, according to Josephus, Nimrod, moved by cupidity and tyranny, took forcible possession of new kingdoms, and was the originator of the building of the tower intended to touch heaven. He began to be a mighty one, or, according to others, was the first giant.'

The popularity of Strabo's *Glossa* is shewn by the multitude of extant MSS. of the work, or of portions of it still extant, or which once existed in the public and private libraries of whose contents we have catalogues. No better proof can be given of the authority which it maintained in the schools than the use made of it by Aquinas, who seems to have had it at his elbow when writing his sermons. In a short discourse on the Good Samaritan, he quotes the *Glossa Ordinaria*, in support of his allegorical interpretations, seven times, and the *Interlinearis* once.\*

This, then, was the system of exegesis which the Schoolmen found in possession. It was the idea of these divines that the Word of God must be placed above the level of human language. The ordinary limitations of human speech could not confine the utterances of divine oracles. Indeed, it was plainly asserted that if you regard the mere historical record there is much that is mean, trivial, and quite unworthy of the Divine Mind. The Mosaic legislation, for example, if taken in the literal sense, must be considered as inferior in dignity and wisdom to the laws of the Athenians or Spartans.† Hence it became an axiom that, of the two senses, the mystical was the more worthy, the more profound, and the more difficult. The literal sense concerns earthly and visible things, easy of comprehension, but which have value only as shadows of spiritual things. The mystical sense is that principally intended by the Holy Spirit.

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\* *Opera*, ed. Paris, 1660, tom. xvii. p. 745.

† *Sixtus Senensis*, Vol. III. p. 131.



One result of such a doctrine, notwithstanding the protests of grave authors, was the general neglect of the historical sense. The facts were uninteresting, unmeaning, unless they could be made directly subservient to theology or mysticism. Hugh of St. Victor, even at that early age, has to complain of those who jumped to the allegory without reference to the letter. 'I wonder with what effrontery (he asks) certain men boast of being teachers of allegories, men who are ignorant of the very first meaning of the letter!' Yet the best commentators seemed impatient with historical allusions, as so many impediments in their way. This is especially the case with the Psalms. Albertus Magnus, for example, even while he states the facts, passes on hurriedly to the mystical sense as something more real and, in a manner, more true. Thus treating of Psalm iii., he admits that the title 'Psalmus David' on the surface (*secundum superficiem*) appears to indicate the efficient cause of the psalm and the occasion on which it was written, but adds 'more truly,' (*verius*) according to the spiritual understanding, the matter of the psalm is shown to be Christ. The venerable Richard Rolle (d. 1349) never even dreams of David in connection with the Psalter. 'The matere of this boke,' he says plainly, 'is Crist and his Spouse that is haly kyrke, or ilk ryghtwise mannys saule;' and it is not to be expected that when he touches on the 19th verse of the *Miserere*, he should stop to enquire what were these 'walls of Jerusalem' that the psalmist prays may be built up. The city of David, or the buildings of Ezra or Nehemiah do not enter into his mind: 'Well do, Lord, in thy good will to Syon, that edified be the walls of Jerusalem, that is, Send thy Son into our hearts . . . and the walls of Jerusalem that were destroyed by Adam be edified through Christ.\*'

On the other hand, this method in practice led to some profitable results. It demanded familiarity with the whole text of the Bible. For the test of the validity of an allegorical interpretation was the test of supposed Biblical analogy. Bonaventure, explaining this rule, takes for an example the words

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\* Ed. H. R. Bramley, Oxford, 1884.

*apprehende arma et scutum*, and asks what is the divine 'shield?' He answers 'truth and goodwill,' for elsewhere it is written '*scuto bonæ voluntatis*,' and again '*scuto circumdabit veritas ejus*,' and adds significantly that 'to such an exercise no one can easily attain, unless by habitual reading he were to commit the text and letter of the Bible to memory.' Of many a mediæval doctor it might be said—as it was said of Heinrich Ewald's Hebrew—that he knew his Bible so well that he could play with it.

Another practical result was the close attention necessarily paid to the purity of the text, where every syllable might contain a mystery. Hidden meanings were especially apt, too, to lurk under proper names and technical terms of foreign origin. It was needful, therefore, to possess a key to their right interpretation. Hence the *Correctoria* and Glossaries, on which a word must now be said.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century many attempts were made, especially in France, to revise the text of the Vulgate, which from various causes, notably from interpolations and well-intentioned corrections introduced from the pre-Hieronymian text or from the writings of the Fathers, had again become corrupt, notwithstanding the efforts of Alcuin and Lanfranc to keep it pure. The first important work of the kind was the Bible of Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux, which is now preserved in four folio volumes in the public library of Dijon. Stephen consulted learned Jews, and got them to compare their Bibles with his copy, and freely made erasures of what appeared to be superfluous in the Latin. His second volume is dated 1109. Early in the same century there appear several works, having a similar object, named *Correctoria*—lists of common errors with proposed emendations. The chief of these was the *Correctorium* of the Paris University, evidently intended to be a standard authority to which other copies should be conformed, but known to us chiefly through the censures of Roger Bacon. The different religious orders seem soon to have possessed *Correctoria* of their own; and there were others compiled either as supplementary to, or in correction of, that of Paris. There are about thirty

MSS. of these still extant. Several were made use of by the Sixtine correctors of the Vulgate at the end of the sixteenth century. One of the best known is the correctorium of the well known Biblical commentator and the compiler of the first Concordance, Hugh of Santa Cara (St. Cher), who has explained his method in a long and interesting preface.\* The Paris Correctorium contained the divisions into chapter, such as are now marked in our Bible. These are generally attributed to another famous expositor, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, a Cardinal (d. 1228), who is said to have invented them when he lectured at Paris.†

Of the numerous scholia, glossaries, or vocabularies compiled in this period the glossary drawn up by Robert of Sorbonne in the thirteenth century, and printed by the Jesuit Tournemine in his supplement to the commentary of Bonfrerius (3 vols. fol., Venice, 1758,) may be taken as a fair specimen. It is intended to explain difficult words and phrases, names of places or of minerals, words of foreign derivation, etc. It is not long, there being no more than fifty such words in Genesis and as many in Exodus thus explained. The derivations of common Latin words are often curious. Sometimes more than one is offered, or rather, two are combined in one, for a single word. Thus *coluber* is so called because this snake *colit umbras* et in *lubricos tractus* labitur. *Vipera*, because the female of this species *vi parit*, and the male *vi perit*, involving a remarkable piece of natural history, which is more fully explained in the *Mammotrectus* (on Mat. iii. 7). *Silex* is a hard rock, so called because from it *exsilit ignis*. Three different interpretations are offered for the *crux* in 1 Kings ix. 1, where in the Vulgate Saul is said to have been one year old, *filius unius anni*, when he reigned over Israel, etc.; and the exceedingly difficult passage, Ps. lxxvi. 14:—*Si dormiatis, inter medios cleros*, etc., is elucidated with a characteristically mystical

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\* Printed by Denifle in his article on the Manuscripts of the Correctoria in the *Archiv für Literatur-und Kirchen-geschichte des Mittelalters*, iv. 263.

† The Correctorium of a Dominican, Magdalius Jacobus, was printed at Cologne in 1508, but it is very rare.

interpretation. The *cleri* are the two testaments; the silvered dove signifies the Church; and her hind parts, that is, her last end, after she has departed from this earth, will shine with grace like gold.

But while the *Glossa* of Strabo remained a model and an authority, while mystical interpretations held their ground, and scholia, glossaries and postillæ multiplied without end, the schools of theology initiated some new methods of their own which were the outcome of the University lectures. At the University of Paris, which gave the pattern, followed more or less closely by the others, the course of studies in the faculty of theology, in preparation for the doctor's degree, which occupied, in the time of Robert de Courcon, eight years, was in the beginning of the fourteenth century extended to fourteen years. During the first four years the young scholar studied the text of the Bible and the Master of the Sentences. The bachelors, who must have passed six years in study, were divided into three classes, *Biblici ordinarii* and *cursores*, the *sententiarii* and the *formati*. The *Biblici* read lectures on the Bible for three years. The friars lectured on the text *seriatim*. The *cursores* chose two books, one from the Old and the other from the New Testament. Before anyone was admitted to lecture on the Sentences, proof must be given of his having studied theology for nine years and having delivered two courses on the Bible. Even for a Doctor's degree in civil or canon law the candidate must have attended lectures for at least two years.

The method of exposition in the classes was that followed in all other sciences. The distinctive character of the teaching of the Middle Ages, says M. Thurot,\* was that they did not teach science directly in itself, but only by explanation of a book. Thus Ethics were taught by an exposition of Aristotle. The author's text was either interpreted by way of verbal Exposition, or discussed in a series of Questions. The method of Exposition was always the same. The

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\* *Je l'organisation de l'enseignement dans l'université de Paris au moyen âge*, par Charles Thurot (Paris 1850) pp. 133-141.

commentator in a prologue, as a rule, treats of the material, formal, final and efficient causes of his work, and indicates its proper divisions. He takes the first division, sub-divides it, and in its turn sub-divides the first member of the sub-division, and so on until he arrives at a division which embraces the first chapter only. He now applies to the single chapters the process which he had applied to the book as a whole, until he reaches a single idea or phrase. This he exhausts by analysis and paraphrase, and does not pass to the next clause until he has analysed the reasons by which that clause occupies the place that it does.

In the Questions, the lecturer extracts from the text all such matter as is capable of being thrown into the form of questions, and of being discussed in two contrary senses. He propounds the question, enumerates the reasons for answering it in this way and in that, gives his decision in favour of one, and replies to the arguments on the other side. A familiar example of the method of the Questionarii will be found in John Major's Commentary on Matthew, 'with 308 doubts and difficulties, very much conducing to its elucidation.' A more thorough and complete commentary of the kind was that of Tostatus, Bishop of Avila, *stupor mundi*, of whom more hereafter.

A model of the purely scholastic Exposition is to be found in St. Thomas' Commentary on St. Paul. Here the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans is treated in eight lectures. The first verse occupies a lecture by itself, which begins thus:—

This epistle is divided into two parts, viz., the salutation, and the epistolary treatise which begins *Primum quidem* (v. 8). As to the first division, it does three things: 1. describes the person saluting; 2. the person saluted, *omnibus qui sunt Romæ*; 3. the salutation desired, *gratia vobis*. In regard to the first, there are two points. For, first, there is described the person of the author; secondly, his office is commended: *quod ante promiserat*, etc. The person of the author is described in four points. First indeed by his name, when he said *Paulus*. About which three things are to be considered. First its propriety.—For this name, so far as its expression by these letters of the alphabet is concerned, cannot be Hebrew, for with the Hebrews the element P is not found. But it may be Greek and Latin. If, however, some alphabetical character approximate to it may be assumed, then that which is here written P may indeed be Hebrew. Secondly its signification.—As far, then, as it may be Hebrew it is the same as *wonder*—



*ful* or *elect* [He is thinking of the verb *Pala*]. But according to the Greek it is *quiet*, according to the Latin it is *little*. And these things are suitable to him. For he was *elect* in the matter of grace. Hence, Acts ix., *Vas electionis est mihi*. He was *wonderful* in works. Eccle. xliii., *Vas admirabile opus excelsi*. He was *quiet* in contemplation. Wisd. viii., *Intrans in domum meam conquiescam cum illo*. He was *little* through humility. 1 Cor. xv., *Ego autem sum minimus apostolorum*. Thirdly, it is to be considered *when* this name was imposed on the apostle since he was previously called Saul. About this there are three opinions. Jerome says he wished to be called Paul on account of some notable action done by him; that is because he converted Sergius Paulus, the proconsul, just as Scipio is called Africanus because he conquered Africa. Others, however, say that the name was imposed on account of his proficiency in virtue, which, as has been said, is signified by the name. For there have been names divinely bestowed upon certain persons, from the moment of their birth to designate grace which they obtained from the beginning, as was evidently the case with John Baptist. In some cases, however, names are changed in order to indicate progress in virtue, as Chrysostom says. This is clear with Abraham (Gen. xvii.) and with Peter (Mat. xvi.) Others, however say, and this is the better account, that Paul had from the beginning two names. . . .

Secondly, the person of the writer is described according to his condition, as in the words *servus Christi*. It would seem that the condition of servitude is an abject one, if regarded absolutely. Hence it is a penalty inflicted by a curse on account of sin. (Gen. ix.) *Maledictus Canaan servus servorum*, etc. But it is rendered commendable when you hear *Jesu Christi*, for Jesus is interpreted Saviour. . . . *Christus* is interpreted anointed. By this is designated the dignity of Christ both in respect to holiness, inasmuch as priests are anointed, (Exod. xxviii.) and in respect to power, because kings are also anointed, (3 Kings, i.) and in respect to knowledge, because prophets also were anointed as Eliseus (3 Kings, xix.)

Scotus wrote similar commentaries, and Sixtus Senensis, who left the Franciscans by leave of the Pope to become a Dominican, read for a printer an exposition of the Subtle Doctor on the Epistle to the Romans. He pronounces it 'very erudite and profound, but according to the name of the author, Skoteinos, so dark and obscure that those well versed in his school can scarce make their way through it.'

The scholastic exposition was, however, not confined to argumentative treatises such as the Pauline Epistles. It was freely applied to any part of the Bible and even to the Psalter. Albertus Magnus showed his skill in making David define his terms like another Aristotle. Hugh of St. Victor expounds a

Psalm as if every word formed part of a logical thesis.\* Thus, the first verse of Ps. xvii., propounds in four successive points. The motives of our love of God, and exhibits in as many steps the order in which evil is expelled; thus '*Deliverer* by baptism; *Refuge* by penance; *Firmament* by patience; *Fortitude* by victory.' The second verse, in five points, demonstrates how good is to be acquired, and so on.

Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca*, ed. Colon. p. 183), gives a curious specimen of such a scholastic lecture on the shortest of the Psalms (cxvi.) *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, but unfortunately he does not name the author. The commentator takes St. Paul's quotation from Isaiah: 'a short word shall the Lord make upon the earth,' Rom. ix. 28, and proceeds to use this text as a key to the psalm.

'In this sentence of Isaiah the four causes of this psalm are touched, viz., the material, the formal, the efficient, and the final. The *material* is insinuated by the *verbum*, because the matter, here treated of, is the mercy and truth of God, exhibited in the Word Incarnate. The *formal* cause is touched in the phrase *abbreviatum*, because the form of this psalm is compendious brevity, comprehending all the divine praises which are scattered throughout the whole book. The *agent* is indicated in the words *fecit dominus*, for God is the efficient cause who made this psalm by the mouth of David. The *final* cause is touched in the words, *super terram*, for the end which moved God to send the Incarnate Word and to utter this psalm was the utility of the whole world.'

'The present psalm, after the manner of other psalms, is divided into two parts, viz., the Title, and the Tractate which begins, *Laudate Dominum*, etc. The Title is *Alleluia*, by which it is shown that this psalm is *halleluaiticus*, that is, laudatory, inviting all the world to praise God for the mercy obtained in the advent of the Incarnate Word. In the Tractate the author carries out what he had proposed in the title, and it is divided into two parts. In the first, it invites all men to praise God; and in the second, it gives the reason of this invitation, *quoniam confirmata*. The first part, again, is divided into two. But here arises a difficulty, Whether God is to be praised? And it seems *not*. For the Philosopher in the first book of *Ethica*, says that for the best there should not be praise, but something more than praise. But God is above the very best of all things, therefore to God there is due not praise but something more than praise. Hence *Ecclus. xlv.*, says that God is "above all praise." Sed contra est, quod hic dicitur, *Laudate*, etc.: Respondeo. . . .'

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\* Some good examples may be seen in Elster.

This was the method most natural to the schoolman. He knew, too, no better way of getting at the substance of an author's text; and as long as the fashion prevailed, and no more was expected of an interpreter than logical subtlety and imagination, a method so congenial to their intellectual tastes and habits attracted to Biblical exegesis many theologians who otherwise might have regarded it as an exercise unworthy of their craft. It became, seemingly, a common practice for commentators on the Sentences to publish the lectures on Scripture which they had delivered during the course of apprenticeship for their Doctor's degree. If it is plain to us that the thesis, the divisions, the arguments and definitions were rather imposed upon, than extracted from the text, the method nevertheless had its good side. It at least taught the expositors to treat a book, an epistle or a psalm as a literary unity. The authors of Glossæ, Catenæ, and Postillæ, were inclined to expound single texts in an isolated manner without reference to the context or general aim of the book. The scholastic improved upon this so far as, with the best intentions, he looked for the underlying idea and the logical proofs of its expression.

The *Questionarii*, to use a barbarous term, were, on the other hand, an outcome not so much of the lecture room as of the public exercises or disputations. The plan of expounding Scripture by way of Questions was in itself ancient enough, but it naturally grew into favour under the scholastic regime. But as in the case of the analytical exposition the Questions were not always elicited from within the text. They were suggested rather by something which was not there, and were attempts to satisfy theological curiosity by filling up the gaps in the historical revelation. Thus it is asked: In what season of the year was Adam created? How long did he remain in paradise? Were the skins with which Adam and Eve there clothed themselves obtained from living or dead animals? With what weapon did Cain slay Abel? Elster gives an example from Hugh of St. Victor's Questions and Decisions on the Epistle to the Romans.

'Through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus' etc. Question: Why

did God redeem man by his death, when He might have saved him by a word? . . . *Question*: Whether God could effect a more fitting mode of redemption? If you say that He was not able, it seems that God's power has a limit and is not immense. If you say that he was able, how is this the most fitting? . . . *Question*: To whom is the price of our redemption paid—to God or the devil? *Solution*: To God and not to the devil, and thereby no injury is done to the devil, since he was no more than the gaoler. Nor would he be willing to receive the price seeing that he wished to destroy man. . . .'

Here again there was a step gained, slight and transient as it may appear. The commentator on Scripture and the commentator on the Sentences seemed as a rule to be governed in regard to pious opinion by opposite tendencies. The tendency of the dogmatic theologian was to find the most subtle distinctions between opinion and opinion, to seize upon one exclusively and to fiercely oppose the other. Schools were founded on refinements scarcely intelligible to those outside the pale of metaphysics. With the Biblical commentator, especially of the mystical class, it was quite otherwise. His tendency was eclectic. His endeavour was to embrace with equal favour all interpretations which came from the Fathers—all opinions not inconsistent with the faith. While theologians were split up into a number of contending parties, there was as yet nothing like different schools among commentators.

New interpretations, mystical or otherwise, however inconsistent with one another, had in practice been welcomed by the expositor. A single text was sometimes made to bear the burden of several divergent and conflicting meanings. This was a weakness inherent in the system, though it did not attain to its fullest development, or to the dignity of formal and dogmatic recognition in the schools, until, as we shall see, the beginning of the 17th century. Meanwhile the *Questionarii*, though they rarely touched the kernel of the text, acted as a drag upon a mischievous tendency, inasmuch as they inclined to create in the field of exegesis definite opinions which their advocates defended with argument as they would defend a theological proposition in the schools.

Two books here deserve mention on account of their wide popularity and high reputation as in a special manner the

outcome of this period,—the ‘*Historia Scholastica*’ of Peter Comestor, and the ‘*Vita Christi*’ of Ludolph of Saxony,—the first being one of the most characteristic and typical book of the age, and the second exhibiting its ripest fruit. Peter, named Comestor, Manducator, or Le Mangeur, on account of the avidity with which he devoured books, was Chancellor of Paris in 1164, and taught theology at the University. His famous work was an abridgment of the Bible history from the Creation to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, interwoven with stories from pagan writers, moral reflections and allegories. In the dedication of his book to the Archbishop of Sens Comestor says that he was urged to undertake it by his colleagues who found it difficult to gather for themselves the consecutive narrative, diffused as it was through the glosses. He affects to leave the ocean of mysteries to more skilful hands and to trace only the stream of history; but as he believes that of the three senses the literal, allegorical and tropological, the first is the easier, the second the more acute and the third the sweeter, he naturally desires to show his acuteness. He writes for the schools and not for the cloister. His books seems to have had a place in every library, and to have been in the hands of every theological student. It obtained for him the title of Magister Historiarum, and took rank by the side of Gratian’s Decretal and Peter Lombard’s Sentences, and the story arose that these three contemporary authors of the great mediæval masterpieces on Dogma, Scripture, and Law, were three brothers. The abridgment of the historical books and of the Mosaic law is fairly done. The prophetic and sapiential books in the Old Testament or the Epistles in the New are scarcely touched. Even the Sermon on the Mount is passed over with the exception of the Pater Noster, which is expounded in the usual scholastic manner. The Six Days’ Creation is also handled theologically, and there is much curious and apocryphal information, mainly drawn from Josephus, on the early history of mankind, given partly in the text and partly in certain marginal notes or *Additiones*. ‘The serpent was more subtle than all the beasts of the field both naturally and incidentally—incidentally



because he was full of the devil. . . . , He, the devil, made choice of a serpent having the face of a virgin, for like things are pleased with their like, and he moved its tongue, without the serpent's knowledge, in the same way as the devil speaks by the mouth of the possessed.' Ludicrous trivialities appear side by side with solid matter. The name of Eva, we are told rightly, means Life. 'Yet the name was given after the curse as if to lament the misery of man, Eva, in a manner bearing an allusion to the cry of infants. For the male child, recently born, cries *A*, and the female, *E*. Thus all who are born of Adam cry "*E vel A*." Comestor's book may be taken as a typical product of the scholastic mind. It represents the kind of knowledge, the historic sense, the literary culture possessed by the ordinary schoolman, and to one who desires within the compass of an ordinary octavo volume to obtain a summary of the Biblical science of the day, he could do no better than read the '*Historia Scholastica*.' It was translated into French and was reprinted frequently in the 15th and 16th centuries. It deserves to be re-edited or even translated as a specimen of the literature of its date and class.

Of quite another character is Ludolph's '*Life of Jesus*,' and yet equally representative of one side of mediæval thought. It exhibits the scholasticism and devotion of the age at their best. Free from the puerilities and defects of taste which disfigure Comestor, free, too, from the extravagances of the current dialectical methods, it presents a theological, historical, and mystical commentary on the harmony of the four gospels which for gravity of style and devotional spirit is unsurpassed at that age. Comestor was concise and rugged: Ludolph is smooth and diffuse. He writes earnestly and persuasively, and closes every chapter with a devout prayer. Though he is generally known as '*Ludolph the Carthusian*,' he had spent twenty-five or thirty years as a Dominican. He was born in 1300, and it was only towards the end of his life that he retired to the Charter-house at Strassburg. The popularity of the book well exemplifies the devotional use of the Gospel narrative in the fourteenth century; and the recent editions, abridgments and translations of it give practical proof that it

is not antiquated or superseded in the nineteenth century. The British Museum alone contains fifteen editions of the Latin original printed between 1471 and 1580, not to speak of several editions of ancient translations into Dutch, French, Italian and Spanish. It has recently been republished in folio at Paris and Rome (1865). A French edition appeared in six vols. 8vo, at Paris in 1864, and another in seven vols. in 1870-73; and Father Coleridge has published a translation of a portion of the work into English under the title of 'Hours of the Passion' (1872).

So far, although there were divers modes of exposition, much labour expended upon the text, and some good practical results, there was obviously little real progress in the understanding of the Bible. A new direction was, however, given to Biblical study in the beginning of the fourteenth century by a Franciscan friar of Normandy, Nicolas de Lyra, who brought about a change in the field of exegesis, not unlike that which his contemporary, William of Ockham, effected in scholastic theology. It was said, but without sufficient foundation, that he was a convert from Judaism. He at any rate learnt Hebrew and read with profit the Jewish commentators. He was made Master of Theology at Paris, lectured for many years on Scripture, wrote *Postillæ perpetuæ seu brevia commentaria in universa biblia*, and died in 1340. This commentary at once took the first place among all the extant works of the kind. Its influence was even greater than it deserved. He had little or no knowledge of Greek. He adhered to the three mystical senses, which he explains almost in the words of St. Thomas, but applies them in moderation. Indeed, he does not scruple to say that these interpretations have been commonly handled so as to suffocate the literal sense. 'Avoiding therefore these and similar evils, I propose (he says) with the help of God, to insist upon the literal sense, and only sometimes or rarely to interpose brief, mystical interpretations. Likewise I intend, in order to elicit that literal sense, to quote not only the opinions of Catholic doctors but also of the Hebrews, especially Rabbi Solomon.' The recourse to Jews for the meaning of single terms or to fix the true readings of the text, was not altogether new. But with Lyra the practice of sometimes preferring the

interpretation of a mediæval Jew to that of an ancient Father, pointed to the principle that exegesis was a question of philology, rather than of authority. Scholarship, linguistic study, knowledge of antiquity were called into requisition, and commentators began to see that it was no longer the mystical sense but rather the literal which was the more difficult. The mediæval dictum was reversed. Sixtinus Amama asserts that the notion of the literal sense being easy and plain was due to an affectation covering laziness and lack of diligence. This may be true of more modern times; but it is scarcely a fair charge to bring against the Middle Ages. Where there was little learning there was little sense of difficulty. Increase of knowledge brought an increase of difficulties. The literal sense now became the more real and the more important. Ockham denied the alleged reality of certain abstract metaphysical ideas. De Lyra's method led eventually to the weakening of the belief in the reality of the mystical senses; or, to the treating of them as, for the most part, mere accommodations, having their origin in the pious imaginations of the Fathers. But all this was not fully realized till the days of Erasmus and Luther. Then, men came to trace the Lutheran exegesis to the innovating Franciscan: 'Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.' Luther himself regarded De Lyra as one of the best of interpreters, as he maintained that Ockham was 'the chiefest and most ingenious' of the schoolmen. Although the Reformer condemned De Lyra's occasional lapses into 'foolish allegories,' he nevertheless could say, heartily: '*Ego Lyranum amo et inter optimos pono*' (Rosenmuller, V. 282).

Meanwhile, the new tendency did not pass without opposition. A Spanish Jew, Solomon Levita, converted to Christianity by the writings of St. Thomas, and afterwards known as Paulus à Santa Maria, or Paul of Burgos, of which city he became archbishop, took upon himself to refute the principles of the postillator, and where possible to contest his interpretations, in a work entitled *Additiones notabiles ad postillas Nicolæ de Lyra in totam scripturam*. Paul begins by reasserting the position that the spiritual sense is the more worthy—*litera occidit*,

*spiritus autem vivificat*—and follows the postillator, chapter by chapter, with his criticisms.

De Lyra, for instance, treating of Genesis i. derides as 'truphatica' the opinion referred to above, that the number 'two' is of evil omen. His corrector calls him to task for speaking thus irreverently of an interpretation maintained by holy doctors, and proceeds to argue its reasonableness. The postillator, again, is bold enough, in defiance of the Glossæ, to interpret the words in Jacob's Blessing—'He shall wash his robe in wine'—literally, of the fertility of the land, and to admit a reference to Christ's Passion in the mystical sense only—an interpretation which A Lapide rejects as 'frigid, earthly and Judaic.' The corrector on the other hand maintains that the phrase is a metaphor directly and literally referring to Christ. There is no important passage on which for some reason De Lyra is not taken to task by his critic, and this if itself constitutes a new phase, and one of great interest in the development of exegetical study. De Lyra was not unbefriended. A Saxon brother of his order, Matthias Doringk or Thoring, indignant at the pride and hostility of this 'corruptor' of a work 'necessary to the Holy Church and venerable to all students,' throws down the gauntlet in defence of his modest and humble Master. 'I, brother Matthias, the least among professors of theology, and unworthy minister of the Province of Saxony, at the request of many who value the aforesaid Postillæ have undertaken to do battle against the Burgensian for Nicolas, the master.' . . . These *Replicæ* which Matthias wished to be called *Correctorium corruptorii* are commonly found printed, as in the edition at the head of this article, together with the two Glossæ, the Postillæ of De Lyra, and the Annotations of Paul of Burgos; and the whole work thus forms a many-sided and well nigh complete Corpus of Mediæval Biblical learning.

Encouragement had been given to philological studies in the beginning of the fourteenth century by the constitution of Clement V. (1311), establishing chairs of Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic in the Universities of Paris, Bologna and Salamanca. The missionary and polemical spirit of the friars led them to

cultivate these languages, especially in Spain, for the conversion of Moors and Jews. The movement had a favourable influence on Biblical commentary, at least with regard to the Old Testament. For Hebrew was then understood far better than Greek. The most conspicuous name during this period of transition was that of Tostatus already mentioned. His familiarity with Hebrew and his learning generally in all branches were for his time extraordinary. Unfortunately his prolixity is as notable as his erudition. He died at the age of forty, (in 1454), having been able to accomplish no more than his commentary on the historical books of the Old Testament, from Genesis to Chronicles, extending to 17 vols. folio, and on the Gospel of Matthew, extending to 7 folios. He devotes himself almost exclusively to the literal sense, which he maintains is the more difficult. Scripture indeed is so difficult that even to this day, he declares, there are passages of which the meaning is not fully understood. The first 13 chapters of Genesis are exhaustively discussed by the learned bishop in 834 Questions. One chapter of St. Matthew, (chap. v.) takes a whole volume to itself, divided into 356 Questions. It is asked why Christ ascended a mountain? What mountain? Whether Christ preached standing or sitting, and why sitting? In what way he opened his mouth? We then have some thirty questions on the nature of beatitude and a series of discussions theological and casuistical on every point in the Sermon on the Mount, treated as such matters are treated in the Summa of St. Thomas. He often relieved the text from the weight of the mystical senses only to bury it under that of dogma. Yet if a man's devotion to the Bible may be measured by the bulk of his printed matter, no Protestant has yet equalled Tostatus Abulensis.

On the other hand, the revival of classical learning and of Greek scholarship had for a time apparently an unfavourable effect upon Biblical studies. Theologians at the universities followed the old paths. The humanists devoted themselves to pagan and secular literature. The Bible was in danger of neglect by both. Criticism on the Vulgate conceived in the spirit of Laurentius Valla only provoked opposition and reaction. A zeal



for Greek appeared to have about it an heretical flavour; and meanwhile the study of Hebrew had again notably declined. Luther came at the opportune moment. But his originality was rather theological than exegetical. He made the discovery that the Bible was the sole rule of faith; and he placed it, as it had never been placed before, in the hands of the people. He discarded the mystical interpretations and dogmatic traditions by which the text had been obscured, and he deduced from, or read into, the text Protestantism instead of Catholicism. His attack, as has been said, found the Catholics in a measure unprepared. But their discomfiture was momentary. The Tridentine period opened with a display of energy and zeal in Biblical science, which in some directions put the Reformers in the background. Philological studies were pursued with ardour. The exigencies of controversy forced Catholic apologists for the time to have more regard to the natural and demonstrable meaning of the text, and to attach less importance to mystical interpretations, which were useless for establishing dogma. The fruits of the new movement in the sphere of exegesis were shown tentatively and crudely by Cajetan, and with more solidity and ripeness by Maldonatus and Estius.

Here, it would seem, a survey of Biblical work in the Middle Ages should come to a close. There is, however, one feature in the subsequent history of the Bible within the Roman Church—a history of much interest in several points of view—which should not be passed over, inasmuch as it marks a certain unscientific and retrograde movement from which even the Middle Ages were comparatively free. First, it must be admitted that there was within the Church a progressive school of criticism, often, as was suggested above, in advance of orthodox Protestantism. Prominent Catholics taught a freer doctrine of inspiration, leading to a clearer recognition of the human element in Scripture, and held broader and sounder principles of textual criticism than those which were generally current in the opposite camp. Witness their juster appreciation of the most ancient Greek MSS. as against the unreasonable reverence elsewhere paid to the received text derived from Erasmus and Stephens. Witness, too, the Roman edition of the Septua-

gint under Sixtus V. There were, no doubt, controversial motives underlying this desire to bring to light the variety and uncertainty of the current readings, but the beneficial result of the enquiries remained. When the Protestant Louis Cappelle wrote his *Critica Sacra*, throwing doubt on the antiquity of the Hebrew vowel points, and on the absolute correctness of the Masoretic text, he could not find a publisher of his own creed, and was unable to print his book until through the mediatorship of his son, who had become a Catholic, permission was obtained from the French King to have it printed at the royal press. Even in what is called the 'higher criticism,' Catholics occasionally led the way. Father Simon, though denounced by Bossuet and placed on the index by Rome, was no heretic, and has deservedly been called the father of modern criticism. But while in certain quarters there was active critical progress, and on all sides a vast amount of learning brought to bear on the illustration of the text, there was developed and formulated in the Catholic schools a doctrine which seems to make a rational interpretation of the Bible impossible. This was the doctrine of the 'manifold literal sense.'

How far the theories or usages of the mediæval doctors give support to this strange doctrine is a disputed point. There are passages in St. Augustine in this sense which it is difficult to explain away, and much is made of a sentence in St. Thomas in which he seems to admit speculatively that it were fitting if in Scripture, even according to the literal sense, there were many meanings in a single word. But this is in such flat contradiction to the immediate context (quoted above) where St. Thomas implies that a multiplicity of senses would involve equivocation and confusion, that it is not, perhaps, without good ground that Professor Beelen sets aside the passage in question as an interpolation.\* Other mediæval doctors explicitly reject the doctrine. Henry of

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\* See *Dissertatio Theologica qua sententiam vulgo receptam esse sacre Scripturæ multiplicem interdum litteralem nullo fundamento satis firmo niti demonstrare conatur J. T. Beelen* (Lovanii, 1845) where the whole matter is fully treated.

Ghent says, as indeed common sense dictates, that a speech, in which the words mean literally many things, is 'a *sophistical* speech.' Alexander Hales and Albertus Magnus are quoted on the same side. Later on there occur more ambiguous statements. The recent Roman theologian, Perrone, insists indeed that Luther was the first to *reject* the multiple literal sense, and Perrone thereby meant no compliment to Luther. Beelen, on the other hand, maintains that the first to formally advocate this doctrine was the famous Salmeron, the Jesuit champion of orthodoxy at the Council of Trent. Salmeron argues that the Apostles quote, and that literally, single passages of the Old Testament in distinctly different senses. 'Does not St. Paul give three distinct interpretations of David's words: 'Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te,'—first, of the eternal Word (in the Epistle to the Hebrews); secondly, of the resurrection (Acts xiii.); and thirdly, of Christ's priesthood (Hebrews v.)? Is it not clear that the prophet Hosea referred literally to the people of Israel when he wrote, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son,' and yet Matthew quotes the words as a literal prophecy of Christ?' Salmeron was followed by the mass of theologians of every school—Jesuit, Dominican, Scotist—Bellarmine, A Lapide, Vasquez, Sylvius, Bannez, Gregory of Valentia, Frassen, and Billuart. A Lapide by this means reconciles various readings and divergent translations. In the canons, which he lays down for the understanding of St. Paul, he shows that Scripture may have discrepant versions, equally authentic, literal, and intended by the Holy Spirit. Thus: in Genesis we read 'Israel adored . . . turned towards the *head of his bed*.' St. Paul reads 'Israel adored the *top of his rod*.' Here both versions were intended by Moses. It is suggested that Moses, writing *mtth* (without vowel points) wished the church to read and understand both *matteh*, staff, and *mittah*, bed. The same Greek words, it is said, may be rendered, in the *Pater noster*, either 'supersubstantial' or 'daily.' Hence the Vulgate rightly gives the one in St. Matthew and the other in St. Luke. Both were equally intended by Christ. In this fashion the Bible becomes a magazine of conundrums. The Jesuit, Joseph

Acosta,\* revels in the doctrine. 'Under the same letter (he writes) lie many true and proper meanings, known to and intended by the writer. We should despise no one's exposition, no one's opinion, as long as it does not contradict the faith or vitiate morals, and is in itself edifying. One man may contend that when Paul bids women veil their heads, *propter angelos*, he was thinking of the angels in heaven: another may argue that by "angels" he meant "priests." If I say that the apostle meant both, no one should think me in the least foolish.' Under this process the well-worn passages suffered most. The commentator does not ask whom precisely Jesus meant by the *pauperes spiritu* in the first beatitude. But he will endeavour to show that the words include (1) the contented and patient poor; (2) the poor, not by necessity but voluntarily, as monks and friars; (3) the rich, detached from their wealth, as Abraham; (4) the poor, not materially but spiritually, *i.e.*, the humble and lowly, etc.; and if there is difficulty in including all of these under what is technically called the literal sense, there is a pretence made, in defiance of the accepted definitions of terms, to range some one or other under an 'anagogical' or 'symbolic' sense.

The chief offender in this system which robs the words of Jesus of all point, force, and definite meaning, is A Lapide, and hence his great popularity with preachers who wish to derive from a single text matter appropriate for a dozen different discourses. The pulpit, indeed, tends, as a rule, to be the worst enemy of sound exegesis. Almost the sole opponents, or at least the most notable opponents of this doctrine in the sixteenth century, were Maldonatus and Estius, and hence their outstanding merit.† Estius wrote a formal treatise against the theory. Maldonatus showed his opinion plainly enough by his actual practice. With these exceptions the 'multiple literal sense' was almost universally accepted for three centuries, until, after being for a while silently ignored in Ger-

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\* 'De vera Scripturas interpretandi ratione': Appendix ad Bonfrerii Præloquia.

† Beelen also quotes on the same side Jerome Pradus, who wrote on Ezekiel.

many, it was successfully attacked by Father Patrizzi of Rome and Professor Beelen of Louvain.

It can hardly be denied that this notion, which may have had certain germs in mediæval commentary, but which was first emphasized, formulated and fixed firmly in the Roman Church, as has been said, towards the end of the sixteenth century, has placed a greater impediment in the way of true exegesis than the comparatively harmless mysticism of the early schoolmen.

Meanwhile the Catholic position, with regard to the Bible, is being assailed by weapons far more serious than those of the Reformers. The attack in the sixteenth century had the character of a revolution—striking swiftly and suddenly. The assault of the critics in this present age has come slowly and gradually, and not without full warning. Fifty years ago there were, in Germany at least, Catholic scholars, who, though yielding in some small measure to the methods and results of the new criticism, were famed throughout Europe as champions of orthodoxy against the advancing rationalism. John Jahn on the Old Testament, and Leonard Hug on the New, took their place among the foremost Biblical critics of the day, and were a force in the controversy which their adversaries could not ignore. But on the Catholic side, in this present generation, what single voice has been so raised as to compel a hearing from their opponents, or to add a grain's weight to the controversy regarding the vital question as to the authorship of the Hexateuch or the origin of the Gospels? The schoolmen of the thirteenth century brought, at least, all the learning then attainable, and the best methods of research known to them, to the elucidation of the Bible. The contemporaries of De Lyra would have been ashamed to see themselves surpassed in Hebrew or in learning by Jew or Gentile. Assuredly too, the Roman divines of the Tridentine period were not silent, and did not shrink from coming to close quarters with their opponents. But at last, and at a critical moment, a strange paralysis appears to have seized on Catholic scholarship. The defence of the traditional theories against the new criticism is now left to orthodox Protestants.



Even among the Catholics of Germany there is little sign of life. France, notwithstanding the stimulus of M. Renan, has in this controversy produced nothing of value. The English-speaking Catholics have produced nothing at all. At no period in the history of the Roman Church has the contrast between the critical ability or learning, within and without the fold, been more marked; and at no period, comparatively speaking, has the study of the Bible been more neglected.

T. G. LAW.

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ART. II.—FIFESHIRE.

ONE who would study and understand Fife cannot begin better than by, in imagination, or better still, in reality, ascending one of the heights in the neighbourhood of Perth. On either side he will see a great depression, that to the north, Strathmore, that to the south, the central 'Scoop' of Scotland. These valleys are approximately parallel, and cross the country from south-west to north-east. The Grampians, and the heathy uplands known as the Carrick, Muirfoot, and Lammermuir ranges, mark out the limits. The partition between the two valleys is formed by the ridge on which he stands, and were that blotted out they would merge into one. This ridge is known as the Ochils on the one side of the Tay, and the Sidlaws on the other. For the sake of simplicity, the two divisions, though somewhat out of line, may be regarded as one, and described as follows. The Ochils approach Perth from the south-west, until they almost touch, and at one time probably did touch, Moncrieff Hill, which is usually regarded as belonging to them. There they fork, the northern branch beginning in Kinnoul, just over the water, and proceeding through Forfarshire and Kincardineshire towards Stonehaven; the other branch keeping to the south side of the river, and running on all along the northern part of Fifeshire as far as Ferry-Port-on-Craig.

These two great valleys are watered by two great streams

which play an important part in the understanding of the county. The Tay flows through Strathmore, and makes as if it would break through the Sidlaws, but, turning sharply to the south at Kinclaven, it bends round by Perth, and finds a way between Kinnoul and Moncrieff Hills into the triangular space already referred to. An interesting observation of Prof. Archibald Geikie's is worth quoting here. 'On a fine day, if you will place yourself on some prominent point of the coast line, and look to the north, you will see, especially if the sunlight is falling in a slanting direction upon the land on the Fife side, the edges to the north are presented as a long sloping line to the south. In like manner the edges of Moncrieff Hill are presented as sloping to the north. The Tay flows not in a geological valley, but on a geological hill which it has ploughed for itself.' The Forth passes to the south of the Ochils, near Stirling, wends through the central valley, and fills a shallow depression with its estuary, forming the southern boundary of Fife. At one time the county now confined to the peninsula between the firths seems to have included the lowlands between the rivers as well.

The same physical features are brought out in the course followed by the different railways to escape out of the partial *cul de sac* in which Dundee lies. There is generally some reason in the nature of the country why a line should follow one direction more than another. The Caledonian runs along the level carse, and reaches Strathmore through the self-same gap by which the river leaves it. The North British crosses the Tay, and finds its way past the Ochils into the central valley.

After this general view of its relations to the surrounding country, it is desirable to approach a little nearer and get a look at the county itself. The impression one who rides or walks across it, has of Fife, is that of an irregular surface, all ups and downs, fertile enough and with a good many richly wooded and pleasantly watered places; but, on the whole, tame and featureless. If he ascends say one of the Lomonds, he gets rid of this to a certain extent, and finds the outlook much more interesting than he had expected. All along the north, as far as Scots Craig, run the Ochils, comparatively low

but sufficiently pronounced to form an effective background as well as screen from the north wind. The range slopes down on the south to Stratheden or the Howe of Fife, which, if not to be described as noble, is still of respectable proportions, and very pleasant-looking. This valley extends quite through the county from extreme east to west, somewhat narrows near Cupar, and terminates at St. Andrews Bay. The southern margin is formed by these same Lomonds, and by a plateau of rough uncultivated ground, separated from the hills by a depression. This elevated region, which occupies the central portion of the county, passes into the fertile stretch of the East Neuk, or descends by a succession of steps or terraces, well known to all who ride or drive that way, as a series of somewhat break-neck hills, to the shores of the Forth. Largo Law, the only other prominent height in the county, is a conspicuous object to the south-east.

Again, the railway may be made use of to bring out the physical features of the county. On entering Fife from Forfar, the North British Railway follows for a certain distance two routes. It takes advantage of a convenient break in the Ochils at the termination of the Tay Bridge, near Wormit; or turning to the left it runs along the northern face to the natural termination of the range at Ferry-Port-on-Craig. The two branches join at Leuchars to form one line along Stratheden; thence through the gap already noticed between the Lomonds and the central plateau to reach the Forth Bridge; or to the north of the Lomonds to cross the Forth where it bends round the eastern termination of the Ochils.

If we except the Tay and the Forth, whose estuaries map out the peninsula, the streams are rather interesting than important. The Eden is the Fife stream par excellence. It has as long a course as is possible within the limits. Rising on the borders of Perthshire it flows along the centre of the Howe of Fife and enters the bay about a mile to the north of St. Andrews. It winds in and out among, often beneath the garden walls of, the picturesque old-fashioned villages; and passes through the county town of Cupar, where the lieges might almost fish from their windows. Its banks are free to

all lovers of the gentle art, and it possesses the questionable privilege of being without a close time. It waters what is undoubtedly the garden of Fife.

The Leven issues from Loch Leven, which Fifers have never ceased to regard as belonging to them, through a sluice; and drains the south-western division of the county. About three miles from its mouth, it is joined by its main tributary, the Orr. So far it is pure, and many a good fish is taken at the meeting of the waters. But its lower reaches are poisoned by discharges from the various mills; and an excellent salmon, stream, which used to yield what were called 'whisky hauls,' and which Fife can ill spare, is thus completely sterilized. This will have to be looked to, and the old state of things brought back. After forming a harbour of fair dimensions, it enters the Firth of Forth at the town of that ilk.

The boundaries of the county, three quarters of which are shores, are necessarily of great variety. With only one considerable exception, that of Largo Bay, where it sweeps into the land, the southern coast, that which edges the Forth, is rocky. It increases in sternness as it approaches the East Neuk, until near Fife Ness, 'a splendid display of yellow sandstone descends with a gentle slope to the ocean, against which it has for ages presented an insurmountable barrier.' The same condition of things continues up the North Sea coast the length of St. Andrews, where it terminates in the rocky platform on which the town is built, and which stretches from east to west about fifty feet above the level of the sea. Beyond this the aspect suddenly changes into a pleasant stretch for bathers, backed up inland by the world-famed course of the royal and ancient golf club. Between the mouths of the Eden and the Tay is an immense area of blown sand not much above sea level, and to seaward, exposed at ebb tide, are those banks which make the navigation of the Tay so dangerous. At the far end of the moor begins the Ochil range, which passes eastward along the Tay side, either dipping into the river, or leaving a narrow strip of cultivated ground between. The landward or western boundary, which margins off Kinross, and barely shuts out

Loch Leven, is a very zig-zag line, which seems to have been executed about the year 1426.

Fife, in so far as it is visible, is a younger county than Forfar. The materials of which it is composed were laid down at a later date, and rest unconformably at first, afterwards quite regularly, on the older strata. Thus the two counties together make one complete and interesting study, which is not seriously interrupted by the intervention of the water. It has no such metamorphic series as that which forms the northern boundary of its elder sister. Its oldest rock is the lower old red sandstone of the Forfarshire lowlands; and of that it has only a narrow strip running along the banks of the Tay from Newburgh to Balmerino, and certain layers alternating with the volcanic materials of the Ochils. On the other side of this northern range the upper old red sandstone, which may be regarded as the basis rock of Fife, makes its appearance. Of this there are two varieties or shades of colour, the red and the white, or yellow, the red being furthest to the north, and dipping under the other. Those who have visited Strathmiglo or Auchtermuchty, must have noticed that they are built of red stone; and, as men are in the habit of using the handiest material, this would seem to show that these villages rest on the red variety. By noting similar hints, a line might be drawn from the neighbourhood of Drumdreal, on the west, passing to the north of Cupar, towards Guard Bridge on the east, indicating the line of division. This rock forms the greater part of the basin of the Eden, and on the southern side of the Howe dips under the younger carboniferous sandstones. Limestone next presents itself as an outcrop on the face of the slope, and follows a crescentic course from Forthar through Ceres, to the coast near Kingsbarns. It also, as we shall have reason to notice, appears on the Lomonds. This is the first and sure sign that we have reached the margin of the coal beds; and in every likely place beyond we may confidently look for that mineral. In all the lowland districts of the county, south of a line drawn through the Lomonds and Ceres, coal is more or less abundant.

It thus appears that from the Ochils, nay, from the Gram-



pians, the strata become younger, layer upon layer, until we reach the upper carboniferous beds in the direction of the Forth. The order of age and succession is as follows :—

FORFARSHIRE.

Metamorphic,	}	Granite.
		Mica Schist.
		Mica Slate.
		Clay Slate.

Lower old red sandstone.

FIFESHIRE.

Lower old red sandstone, narrow strip and layers.

Upper old red sandstone red and white.

Carboniferous sandstones.

Coal, interstratified with shales, etc.

It were interesting to link these deposits, thus following one another in regular and successive order, into a connected account, out of the sequence of the strata, each of which was laid down under certain conditions, differing in some respects from the rest, in order to get something like a story. In such an attempt, many a gap would have to be crossed, since many a gap is left, and many a broad statement, resting rather on probability than on proof, would have to be tolerated. Omitting confusing detail, it might be made to read somewhat thus :— The early chapters are necessarily the most uncertain, for there the largest erasures, the widest breaks occur. It was pointed out that the Ochils and the Sidlaws were the only partition between Strathmore and the central scoop, of which Fife and the Forth form the eastern part. Indeed, the Sidlaws at present simply partition off the irregular space in which the estuary of the Tay lies. But the Ochils and the Sidlaws are younger than either the Grampians or the Lammermuirs ; so that, at the distant time, before the partition was thrown up, the two parallel depressions on the north and south probably formed one wide valley, extending from shore to shore. This hollow must more than once have been under water ; and at the bottom of this inland sea or lake the lower old red sandstone, the youngest of the rocks in Forfarshire, with the exception of a patch near Arbroath, and the oldest rock in Fife was

laid. If this is the true account of the matter, we should expect a deposit of the lower old red, with probably a deeper basis of the earlier Silurian to underlie all the subsequent deposits of Fife. This interpretation is supposed to be borne out by the fact that the older Forfarshire rocks which dip out of sight under the younger strata, reappear in the same order south of the Forth. 'Before the deposition of the old red sandstone and subsequent series,' says Professor Ramsay, 'a wide deep valley already existed between the Grampians and the Lammermuirs; and in this hollow the old red sandstone derived from the waste of the hills was deposited.' Some doubt has been cast on this interpretation from the difficulty of identifying the unfossiliferous schists of the Grampians with the fossiliferous slates of the Lammermuirs; and no proof of the existence of these deeper strata south of the Ochils is forthcoming. This is one of the wider gaps.

We must now suppose that the sea contracted until it covered only the central and deeper part of the valley, seeing that none of the younger deposits of Fife are to be found north of the Tay. It may be that much of the superficial material of Forfar has been worn away by denudation, and this is no doubt to a certain extent true. But it is reasonable to suppose that the sea lingered longest in the less elevated parts. On the top of the lower old red was deposited the upper old red sandstone of the northern half of Fife. That a wide interval had elapsed, and that the conditions had considerably changed in the meantime, is shewn in the difference of composition; the latter being a much purer form of sandstone, possibly because laid in deeper water. The next deposit in ascending order, the carboniferous sandstones, presuppose a shallow and muddy bed. Once more the sea bottom seems to have descended to a considerable, if not even to a great depth. Only thus can we account for the limestone, which, here as elsewhere in Scotland, immediately underlies the coal, and forms such an important element in the midland portions of the county. Then came the great shoaling for which we have such abundant evidence, and so much reason to be grateful, converting Fife into a vast lagoon. The following account of a coal forming era will give a general idea of its appearance.

'At the time of the coal growth, a group of islands occupied the site of some of the existing high grounds of Great Britain. The shallow waters, which wound among the scattered patches of land, were gradually silted up. Many of them became marshes crowded with a luxuriant cryptogamic vegetation, specially lycopods and ferns. The high grounds were covered with heath and waved green with coniferous trees. By a slow intermittent subsidence, islet after islet sunk beneath the verdant swamp. Each fresh depression submerged the rank jungles, and covered them over with sand and mud, where they were eventually compressed into coal.'

This intermittent sinking, this deepening and shallowing is clearly shown in the beds of shale and sandstone formed from the mud and sand which divide the different seams of coal.

These stages in the long process were frequently brought to the surface by an agency with which we shall have to deal in the next paragraph; but they are still more easily studied in the natural sections along our coast. Nowhere, perhaps, may the lesson be more simply and easily read than in the cliffs at St. Andrews. There the sea has worn the rock into a perpendicular face from 50 to 150 feet in height, presenting in its varied surface at once a picture and a fairly complete account of the later changes of this era. All along the carboniferous sandstones are seen to alternate with darker streaks. 'There are no seams of the true coal series,' writes Professor Heddle, 'but there is a ten or twelve inch seam of a poor coal and some of bituminous shale. The limestone, which, as we have seen, underlies the coal series, "should be below the cliff, but the sea covers all. It is brought up at one spot inland of the east bay, and at another by tuffa," that is by disturbance, about a quarter of a mile east of the spindle.'

The igneous rocks fall to be noticed in any account of the physical history and development of the county. For although they have not the natural place in the sequence supposed to belong to sedimentary strata or even to such deposits as the coal; still their appearance may not be quite so erratic as it seems. If we cannot exactly account for the several outbreaks, a little experience will at least teach us where to expect them, in what geological era. They may thus serve the useful purpose of marks, or milestones, letting us know exactly where we are, and how far we have got, when otherwise we

might be confused. This is especially the case with the Fifeshire rocks, which are not only useful guides through the county, but serve to clear up some problems by the light they throw on igneous phenomena elsewhere. They are not all equally old, and seem to have broken through at wide intervals, and amid very different conditions, their age and relations being approximately indicated by the strata surrounding them. The Ochils, as we are prepared to expect, date furthest back, and belong to the era when the lower old red sandstone of the opposite bank and of their own slopes was being laid down.

They are thus of the same age as the Sidlaws, and were probably piled up in much the same way. The volcanic forces broke out, and poured their molten discharge over the bed of the sea; ceased their activity while the deposit of sand worn from the hills went on; broke out afresh; and so produced the alternation of sandstone and lava characteristic of both ranges.

When we cross the line between the older and the younger deposits, we pass from more ancient to more recent igneous phenomena. But not all at once. The region of the upper old red sandstone is singularly free from volcanic disturbance. Indeed it may be said with comparative safety that there is not a trace of anything of the kind. This would seem to indicate a long period of quiet. While this rock was being formed the wild forces beneath had gone to sleep. Elsewhere, with the exception of the Orkney Islands, this deposit wears the same character. But nowhere is it more sharply marked off from disturbed areas, or more distinctly seen at a glance than in Fifeshire. Eruptions to the north, and to the south, and between the two, a vale whose peaceful look tells of an uneventful history. The identity of the carboniferous sandstones which border this deposit to the south, was only established by the presence of igneous rocks, from which the other was known to be free. That the forces were by no means exhausted but only resting for a while, becomes manifest as we look or move southward across this quiet region. The Lomonds rise up before us, witnessing by their very appearance

to a volcanic origin. Manifestly they are within the carboniferous limit, and belong to that era. We are safe in assuming that the limestone, found high up on their flanks, must already have been there at the time when they broke forth. The central plateau or muir of Fife is diversified by knobs and ridges protruding through carboniferous strata. Indeed it owes its rough appearance, and coarse scanty covering of vegetation, to the ubiquity of these igneous rocks. Largo Law, at the south-east corner of this region, reveals the raw edges of the same deposit, which it must have torn in its rise.

Had no such disturbances occurred, the seams of coal and adjacent beds would have remained more or less uniform, just as they were when first formed. But this is not the case. The northern and eastern parts of the Fife coalfield are the most disturbed and complicated areas in Britain. 'In the tract between the Eden and the Forth at Pittenweem; and in the district between Markinch and St. Andrews, a space fifteen miles each way, trap penetrates the coal at innumerable places, covering about one half of the whole surface. The great limestone, instead of being found only on the margin, appears at intervals over the whole; and the coalfield, instead of presenting an extended basin, is separated into twenty or thirty detached portions.' That the carboniferous era was an especially lively one in which volcanic activity reached its height appears from the following passage, quoted from Prof. James Geikie. 'The whole area of the Lothians and Fife seems to have been dotted over with innumerable little volcanic vents, breaking out and disappearing one after another during the course of the carboniferous period, up at least to the close of the carboniferous limestone'. On a geological map the appearance of the district, dotted over with patches of colour, as compared with the rest of Scotland, brings this feature clearly out.

In tracing the sequence of the rocks, the student is often dependent on the presence of the characteristic fossils; and because of this, the partnership between geology and palaeontology has a tendency to become closer. The unfossiliferous nature of some of our rocks covering very wide areas to the



north and west of the county, presents a difficulty, which puzzles the experts, and is likely to keep certain matters of interpretation open for some time to come. That considerable portion of Forfarshire which forms its northern barrier and stretches down to Strathmore, comes within this region, and is comparatively tenantless. The difficulty in determining the age and relative position of this metamorphic series results as we have seen from the absence of fossils. The discovery of a few graptolites would settle the question. With the exception of a narrow band, even the lower old red sandstone is almost destitute of remains. A few gigantic crustaceans notably the *Pterogotus*: a few antique fishes such as the buckler-headed *Cephalaspes* exhaust the list, and happy is he who finds them. The seeker after a long day's work has often to rest satisfied with the so-called *Parkadecepiens*, a little circular patch on the stone supposed to be the remains of *Pterogotus*' eggs. It would seem as if the conditions under which the Forfarshire old red was laid down were unfavourable to life, or to the preservation of such living forms as there were. No sooner however do we cross the Tay, and get beyond the Ochils, than this state of matters changes. Fifeshire is as rich in fossils as Forfarshire is poor; and seems to contradict any general assertion of the barrenness of Scottish rock. In the upper old red, the characteristic sandstone rock of Fifeshire, as the lower old red is of Forfarshire, we come upon an abundance of armoured fishes, doubtless the dominant form of the sea in which it was laid down. 'At this time the bony fishes, such as our cod and herring, are not known to have come into existence, and the Ganoids held almost undisputed possession of the water.' The order of things is now reversed. The Ganoid type is almost extinct, being represented by a few species found here and there throughout the world, interesting mainly as a sort of living fossils. 'All are essentially fresh water fishes,' says Professor Huxley. 'All are found in the northern hemisphere, three *Lepidosteus*, *Amia*, and *Spatularia* are exclusively North American; *Polypterus* is only known in the rivers of Africa; while *Accipenser* is common.' The most familiar example is the Sturgeon, (*Accipenser Sturio*), some-

times caught in the nets of our fishermen. 'The palaeontological Ganoids are no less extensively distributed, prevailing wherever the old red sandstone is found, all over the north of Europe and America, the central regions of Asia, and other quarters of the globe.'

These fishes are associated with Dura Den, a world renowned passage through the ridge which separates between Dairsie and Ceres. 'This classic field of geology has some special attractions in itself, besides those arising from its forms, new and strange, in its rocky foundations. No lover of the beautiful can fail to be arrested by the fine grouping of objects that successively fall upon the eye in traversing the ravine, enclosed by high precipitous rocks on both sides; and which are diversified by the various colours of the interlaminated beds.' In its two miles of extent, from the Church of Spottiswood to the lands of Pitscottie, an instructive epitome of the geological history and sequence of Fife is presented. It may be described as a meeting place of the new and the old; sharply separating the northern sandstones from the southern carboniferous deposits. Dura Den stands on the verge of the two great epochs, marking the outgoing and the incoming of the two most remarkable phenomenal aspects of the physical history of our planet. An interesting illustration of the igneous phenomena of the county already referred to occurs about half way down the Den, where the undisturbed sandstones are separated from the much disturbed carboniferous deposits by the appearance of trap. The Ceres burn on its way to the Eden runs over the old red, and just by the bed of the stream, close beside the pleasant residence of Mr. Watson, the chief interest of the scene lies.

It were impossible to speak of Dura Den without mentioning the name of Dr. Anderson, who has made the place especially his own; nor would it be fair, even if it were wise, to use other words than his, when such are available. His monograph is at once interesting in matter, and dignified in style, one of our few classics, less known than it deserves to be. It should be in the hands of every intelligent person in the North of Fife. 'The 16th day of September, 1858,' he says, 'will ever be memorable;

when, in the presence of Sir R. I. Murchison, and Lord and Lady Kinnaird, the largest fossil *Holoptychius* ever discovered was exhumed from the rock in full and perfect outline, and measuring upwards of 3 feet in length. Another trial was made two months afterward by the proprietors, when nearly a thousand fishes were lifted from their stony bed within a space of 3 square yards, most of them perfect in outline, the scales, and fins quite entire, and the form of the creatures often starting freely out of their hard stony matrix in the complete armature of scale, fin and bone. The peculiarity of entireness and even of freshness in these olden denizens of the waters is so remarkable that, when first exposed to view in the newly split up rock, there is a life-like glittering over their clear, shining scaly forms, that one can scarcely divest himself of the idea that he is looking on the creatures of yesterday. 'Here is a living one,' exclaimed a workman, as he raised from the bed of the river a large flagstone, on which were counted upwards of fifty fishes; one pre-eminently beautiful, full, and rounded in form.

'The organic remains of this interesting deposit have as yet only been found on the western side of the den; but in following out the dip to the eastward, little doubt can be entertained of their equally rich distribution in that quarter.' Various theories have been suggested to account for the vast accumulation thus gathered into one place, such as some sudden and fatal change in the surrounding conditions; or a gradual shallowing of the water into a deep pool which swarmed with life. 'The position in the rock of the Dura Den fossils clearly leads to the conclusion that they were suddenly, and simultaneously imbedded in the sands and silts of the period. Their numbers, entireness, and general state of preservation, evidently shew that they were overtaken by one and the same cause of destruction, and instantly dropped to the bottom of the water. There is never a broken fin, nor a scale displaced from any of the specimens. They have not been carried from a distance, nor rolled about for any length of time. Everything indicates an immediate enclosure in their soft, sandy

sepulchre ; and, consequently, a rapid process of silting up in the depths to which they sank.'

Which of the many guesses is the right one, or whether the conclusion, probable enough in itself, of some extraordinary agency is warranted, will remain undetermined. To prevent disappointment, it might be as well to inform visitors from a distance that they must not expect to find specimens scattered about, which they can gather up and bring away with them. That some have gone with this erroneous view is within our knowledge. Mr. Watson will point out where they lie, covered over with rubbish since the day they were exposed to the members of the British Association when that body held its meetings in Dundee ; and they must take the rest on faith.

This is one of Dr. Anderson's pictures, a revival of the Dura Den of the past, illustrating at once the interest of the matter, and the charm of the style :—' Here doubtless were inlets in deep waters, producing creeks, and oozy sandbanks and currents, with their affluents and arrangements of seas, lakes and lands, now all entirely obliterated. The sands are piled up into thick set rocks of hundreds of feet in height. The waters are drained off. Hills and ridges of different mud accumulations give form to a scene altered and varied in every feature. But the alteration is only external. Everything within and beneath the surface preserves entire the character and phenomena of the laws by which the seasons, the tides, and the atmosphere were ruled in those ancient days. The very ripple mark is there attesting the shore lines, the flow and recess of the waters over their silty banks. The direction of the winds are to be traced in the general trend of the furrows impressed upon the surface. The tiny pits and hollows of the rain drops, tell of clouds that obscured the sky, and even the quarter of the heavens whence issued the breeze that bore them onwards. And in the vast numbers of bulky forms of the fishes, there is evidence of the rich provision of nature in supplying them with food.'

In passing from the old red we leave the fishes behind us. The overlying sandstones, as their name implies, are abundantly impregnated with carboniferous matter. The roots or

rhizomes (*Stigmaria*) of the great tree-like *Sigellaria* abound. In the dyke by the wayside one sometimes sees pieces of sandstone which were pierced by *Stigmaria* rootlets in days when they were so much soft sand and mud.

But the great coal age which these appearances seem to have heralded was not yet. At the bottom of a sea, probably deeper than any which had covered Fife, lowly marine organisms, encrinites, molluscs, etc., had their day and ceased to be, and help to account for the limestone in which their tests or harder parts are found in great abundance. As in the case of the fishes, the forms are chiefly archaic, either absent from our seas or very unfrequently met with. Some, such as the pecten, a comparatively primitive type of mollusc, may be picked up any day on our shores. The greater number most of us may have heard of, but can never have seen; and yet so thickly studded are these Fifeshire rocks with the remains of these curious forms, that in some cases it would be difficult to insert the point of a pin between the stems of the stone lilies. A visit to one of the lime pits, with a little imagination, is like a visit to ancient Fife, and one can enjoy the luxury of gathering shells from a sea long since passed away. Unfortunate is he or she who cannot get a basketful to bring home; not of the rarest perhaps, for the workmen have learned the marketable value of the treasures, and collect as many as they see.

The waters of the limestone sea, in which these creatures lived and multiplied, flow away in their turn, and signs indicative of the presence of dry land greet us. The higher grounds of Fife appear above water, and even the valleys rise to the surface. Vegetation greens over the exposed portions and the epos of plant life, chiefly of the non-flowering kind begins. 'The roof of a coal mine, when newly exposed, often presents the most wonderful appearance, from the abundance of leaves and branches impressed on its dark shining surface.' The living forms thus condensed and represented covered the moist lowlands. The rush, the abundance, the size, bespeak the existence of much greater warmth than we experience now. The scene resembled an equatorial marsh. Fifeshire has known its periods of intense cold as well as of intense heat.



The tropical climate which, as we have seen, must have prevailed during the deposition of the coal was succeeded, after a long interval, by arctic conditions. The glacial age, a destructive rather than a rock forming era, has left unmistakable traces in Fife also. The Ochils are ground off and smoothed in such a way as to indicate that the mass of ice, under which the whole scene was covered up, must have overflowed them, and passed on south-eastward across the Lomonds into the valley of the Forth. Transported blocks, pieces of rock which had tumbled upon the moving mass and been carried along in its course, are found on the hill slopes and scattered over the plains. Among these are mica schists and granites, which do not belong to Fife at all, and must have been brought all the way from the distant Grampians, across Strathmore and over the intervening obstacles. The boulder clay, *i.e.*, the waste which the weight of the moving glaciers ground from the rocks, forms the subsoil of much of the lowlands. Still more interesting and characteristic of the county are the post-glacial phenomena known as Kames. These are accumulations of sand and gravel, sometimes in the form of long ridges, following the bend of a valley, sometimes of rounded green knolls, whose origin is variously explained and cannot yet be regarded as quite settled. Probably, as Prof. James Geikie has pointed out, they are not all to be explained in the same way; some being due to one cause and some to another. Under the influence of milder conditions the ice had melted from the plains. It still held possession of the mountains whither it had retreated, sending tongues down the glens. From under each of these glaciers a stream issued, turbid with the ground down material. On the approach of summer, whose heat was a strong contrast to the cold of winter, the rapidly melting ice or snow swelled the stream into a torrent strong enough to bear the accumulated rubbish before it. On issuing from the narrow gorge into the wider plain the waters spread out and slackened, depositing their burden in the still places on either side. Such piles are common at the opening of many of our glens and run parallel with many of our streams. Or the sea encroached once more on the low-lying

shores and flowed up the valleys. In its advance it disturbed and re-arranged deposits of the glacier, piling them into heaps along its margin and washing out the clay and sand from between the stones.

These Kames, thus formed by water either from the hills or the sea, or both, are specially well developed in the neighbourhood of Leslie and Markinch, and an extremely interesting example exists near Wormit.

Of these comparatively recent encroachments of the sea, and the different levels at which it has stood on the land at various times, Fife possesses many remarkable evidences. There is reason to believe that the lower reaches of the Eden, as far as the inland side of Cupar, and beyond, is a marine deposit. In this part of the Strath, Page found the remains of marine animals. Still more interesting and suggestive are the raised sea beaches, which form such a strong feature in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews and Leuchars; and, in a less marked degree, along the banks of the Tay. Starting from St. Andrews, the old coast-line bends away inward; and, by the time it reaches the links, it has receded a considerable distance, forming a conspicuous back ground to the golfing green, which can scarcely escape the notice of the least observant. Then it tends towards Guard Bridge, margining the estuary of the Eden; and increasing its encroachments on the country. Not far from Leuchars it attains its maximum distance inland; interposing several miles of cultivated and uncultivated ground between it and the sea. Thence it keeps well outside Tents Muir the length of Tayport where it dwindles into a narrow margin.

Turning to the surface flora, as distinguished from that underneath, we notice that the main difference, as compared with Forfarshire, is the absence of Arctics. And if we recall the relation of these pigmy highlanders to the denizens of the lowlands, and the sites they occupy in the latter county, we shall at once find out the reason of this.

In a temperate clime like our own we scarcely look for Alpines under an elevation of 2000 feet, seeing that below that line the competition is too keen to give them a fair chance

in the struggle for existence. As no part of Fife rises to that height, the advanced body of vegetation, on its return to this country at the close of the glacial period, would pass it over and hold on to the north. The eastern portion of the Ochil range is nowhere more than 700 feet, less than half the height of the Forfarshire Sidlaws, which harbour no Alpines. The greatest elevation in Fifeshire is attained by the Lomonds, the western summit of which is 1713 feet above sea level, and this is only within the region of subalpines, intermediate between the flora of the mountains, and that of the plain. When we wish to know what the county possesses of the nature of true hill plants, it is sufficient to inquire what this height has to offer. We may infer with sufficient safety that what does not grow there is not likely to be found further down. And the answer is, one or two forms, common enough on the lower slopes of the Forfarshire Grampians. Even had the West Lomond the two or three hundred feet needful to put its summit within the Arctic regions added to its stature, it is doubtful whether its volcanic debris would be as acceptable to these dainty feeders on the metamorphic rocks.

The flora of Fifeshire can at most be compared with the lowland flora of Forfarshire, say from Strathmore southward; and even so it is lacking in variety and altogether commoner. The proportions in which the species appear in the two counties is somewhat unequal, and is largely to be accounted for by differences in the soil and situation. For instance, in walking along the limestone ridge to the south of the Eden one comes upon a great profusion of plants only thinly scattered over the sandstone or clay of the Forfarshire plains. The many rich and sheltered nooks and sunny exposures of Fifeshire seem favourable to the multiplication of species which object to the balder landscapes of Forfarshire. No sooner do we cross the Tay Bridge and land on Wormit Braes than we are at the beginning of a region attractive alike to the botanist and the flower gatherer. All the way along to Birkhill interesting forms abound. The grassy slopes are gay, in the spring with cowslips, which, however common they may be in the south, are by no means equally so here. The woods

grow rank with the great wild valerian, the common enchanters night-shade, and the woodruff. Even such rarities in a wild state as the lily of the valley are, or were lately, found. It may be that the near presence of Balmerino Abbey, and the hand of busy monks on some distant day are responsible for a part of these. Still we are in the habit of regarding all plants which have been a long time in possession, have taken kindly to the soil, and seem well able to look after themselves, as natives.

The same want of variety for much the same reason is noticeable in the fauna. Indeed one cannot help being struck by the comparative poverty of the lists received from various districts of the county. We feel safe in deducting all animals which inhabit lofty places; and most of those which owe their continued existence to the shelter afforded by rocky retreats, or deep and dark recesses. The landscapes appear to us too mild to provide suitable environment for Arctic forms, or to shelter the wildlings of the plain from ignorant sport, persecution or curiosity, and enquiry confirms this suspicion. The blue or mountain hare, (*lepus variabilis*), finds no site high enough. As in the case of the plants, it is sufficient to inquire of the West Lomond, if it harbours such a form; and to take its negative answer as if it came from the whole. The polecat or founmart, still a doubtful inhabitant of Forfarshire, has no refuge secure enough. The wild cat, occasionally found north of the Tay, is also absent. The badger, one of our common mammals beyond the Sidlaws, is only reported from one place, and that as very rare. The want of glens and gorges, natural fastnesses among the mountains, accounts for the absence of red deer. The roe deer, thinly scattered throughout the rest of the county, is still plentiful enough in the Falkland district, an old favourite hunting ground of the Scottish kings.

It would have been interesting to discover how far Falkland has deteriorated since those halcyon days. Major Wood writes—'I have not in my varied researches found any record of the kind of game caught at Falkland, except that on the Exchequer Rolls there are several charges for feeding

deer caught here, and sent to the King at Edinburgh and Linlithgow, probably to be let loose and hunted on special occasions.' Not even the kind of deer is mentioned. Fife is still noted as a hunting county, where field sports are pursued with considerable zest. It supports its pack of fox-hounds; and it is no uncommon thing to hear the huntsman's horn ringing over its winter landscapes: and although it has no otter hounds of its own, so far as we are aware, a pack from a distance used to pay, probably still do pay, a periodical visit to its streams. Now fox-hounds and otter-hounds presuppose a sufficient number of foxes and otters.

From this review it would seem, that the Fifeshire mammals are just those of the Forfarshire lowlands south of the Sidlaws; perhaps, with the exception of those which are valued, and more or less preserved for hunting or shooting purposes, they are neither so numerous, nor so equally distributed.

The ptarmigan, which lives as near to the snow line as it can get; the eagles and larger falcons which haunt wild and inaccessible cliffs and fastnesses, find no place. Grouse and the smaller birds of prey are all that Fifeshire boasts. Even our black Arctic, the raven, seems to be absent. The bullfinch, one of our commoner Forfarshire birds, is comparatively rare. The muirs provide extensive nesting grounds to members of the linnet family, which seem to abound in their vicinity; and the well-wooded vales afford shelter to a number of the warblers.

Fife, as we have seen, is a sporting county of the milder order, not so much on the heather or in the forest, as in the covert, and over the stubble. It boasts a large proportion of resident landlords, who do not let out their estates for hire to sportsmen from the south, but shoot over them in a traditional way with their friends. Perhaps they have not been led into temptation, as the game they have to offer is late, after the corn harvest, and not so much in demand. It has its full complement of partridges and pheasants.

The following extract from the week's newspaper gives the contents of a modern game-bag, and indicates approximately the proportions on which the different forms exist:—



'Shooting was commenced on Balburnie estate, Fife, last week, second week of October, the harvest being very late, when in four days sport, Mr. Balfour and party of six guns, secured 356 partridges, 38 pheasants, 2 wild pigeons, 60 hares, and 16 rabbits. Rabbits of course are legion, and pheasants are sometimes proportioned to the length of the purse, but the others are wildlings, and would be shot as they were found.'

The capercaillie has got this far south, and in some districts abounds. Indeed, of all our game birds, this one, which only the other day was supposed to be extinct, seems to give the least trouble. There is every reason to believe that, with an ordinary amount of protection, it will spread and multiply wherever there are fir trees. 'The blackcock as elsewhere is on the decrease.

If Fifeshire is deficient in mountains, it has, for its size, rather more than its share in sea coast; and if Alpine forms are necessarily scarce or absent, we are led to expect a full representation of marine forms. This is especially the case with aquatic birds. For variety a good deal depends on having a suitable breeding ground; and, not even the opposite coast of Forfarshire, with its long stretch of links, is more favourable than the great moorland between the Eden and Ferry-Port-on-Craig. Indeed, the Fifeshire side has certain advantages over the other. Being more out of the way, it is less disturbed, and therefore more attractive to the shyer birds. In notes of a walk across, towards the end of last July, when the height of the nesting season was past, and some of the more familiar visitors already gone, we find various gulls, various terns with their eggs, the king duck, the ring plover, the oyster-catcher, the red shank, the shieldrake, the turnstone, not to mention many commoner species.

This accumulation of blown sand is no less interesting to the archæologist than to the student and lover of its living forms. Untenanted now, except by a few cottagers and crofters on the landward side, it retains traces of a considerable population in bye-gone days. How rich it is in these remains is known, not to the casual visitor, but to the frequenter of this unpromising waste. Its light and shifting surface is peculiarly adapted for hiding and so preserving interesting

relics. A windy day long ago would cover them over with sand drift; and a windy day now will expose them, often as fresh in appearance as when they were in use. It is no uncommon thing for the wanderer to find lying on the surface a flint instrument, from the new stone age, which yesterday's gale had laid bare.

Fragments of ancient pottery, including cinerary urns, abound on the Tayport side, and here and there, chiefly towards the Eden, kitchen-middens, formed of the shells of edible molluscs, add their chapter of ancient history. It is unnecessary to re-tell the story of hill forts, mounds, and underground dwellings, of which Fife has its share. An interesting example of upright stones exists in the neighbourhood of Lundinsnell. It is impossible to talk about Fife without mentioning St. Andrews, that wonderful place, so old and yet so young, so venerable and yet so gay, the grey ruins at one end, the green golfing links at the other.

'There is no memorial of the past in Scotland upon the whole more interesting than the ancient tower of St. Regulus, both for its own quiet, solid, earnest beauty, and as a connecting link between an earlier and later civilization. It was there when the walls of the proud Cathedral by its side were rising; it gazes upon their ruins with the same immovable stateliness that it looked upon their erection. It dates back to the first half of the twelfth century—1129-1144. Its style is the primitive Romanesque or early Norman.'

Thus writes, in his wonderfully beautiful style, Principal Tulloch, who loved the old place, and of whom the old place was proud. But he loved the new place too. Is it A. K. H. B. who tells a story which reveals St. Andrews and the Principal of St. Mary's in another aspect. 'Some precise person, I repeat from memory, called on Tulloch, and being informed that he was on the links, proposed to go in search of him. He had the misfortune to inquire his whereabouts from a caddy or club carrier, who presumably was in a bad temper, and probably harboured a grudge. "Ou ay! it's the Principal you want. You'll find him along there tappin and dammin in hell's corner." The golfer, not the instructor of youth or the chaplain of the club, had got into a ferocious bunker, significantly named as

above, and not being able to drive his ball out had resorted to theological language.'

At the far end of Stratheden, in the peaceful depths of the country, is a place almost as old, and, in its own way, quite as interesting. A link of connection has just been established between the two, by the appointment of the Marquess of Bute to the Lord Rectorship of St. Andrews University. 'The most plausible conjecture with which I have met,' writes Lord Bute, to whom we owe most of the facts in the following notice, 'is that Falkland is a corruption of Folkland, or the land belonging to the people. Any one approaching is still struck by the amount of communal, or burghal land, easily distinguished by its division into small allotments. It is certain that Falkland was part of the property of the Earls of Fife in the latter half of the twelfth century. The obscurity which surrounds these early Earls continues to haunt them. The line finally ended in the latter part of the fourteenth century in Isobel, who resigned in favour of Robert, Earl of Monteith, widely known by his later title of Duke of Albany. In 1425 the Earldom and its property lapsed to the Crown, to which it was finally attached by Act of Parliament in 1455. These events constitute the ancient history, and happened, mainly, when the tower afterwards referred to, reigned over the scene.'

The present buildings are associated with some of the more romantic incidents and persons in Scottish history. The site of the manor and palace is a sort of promontory, projecting into the plain from the East Lomond, almost directly north. Falkland, which is old, interesting, and picturesque, lies on the hill side, immediately to the south of the palace. Approaching from the town the south wing presents a richly adorned front, with a gatehouse at the western corner, giving a promise of completeness not to be realized. The door on the left hand side of the entrance archway leads into a chamber, containing what is vulgarly called a bottle-dungeon. 'I have no doubt that it was an ice house,' writes Lord Bute, 'and that the same was the use of the so-called bottle-dungeon at the Castle of St. Andrews, and any secular structures elsewhere.'

On passing into the court, only ruin is visible, until we look back at the inner aspect of the south wing, with its fine renaissance façade. This belongs to the time of James V., and is a promise of what that monarch proposed to do for the whole had he lived. It is the most elaborate piece of work about the palace, and the date can be fixed within very narrow limits. The two ornamented pillars which support it as buttresses, bear alternately the names of James V. and Marie de Guise. He married her in June 1638, and died on December 1642; so that it must have been during these four years. With the death of James building finally ceased.

'When I came to Falkland,' writes Lord Bute, 'nothing of the east wing was visible, except the walls towards the court, some remains of the south end, and an isolated and ruined tower jutting eastward, and communicating by a postern door with the garden. At the bottom of the tower stair is a vaulted guardroom. It has a large stone bench occupying one side and is lighted by a narrow window looking into the garden.' Lord Bute's discoveries connect this tower with the main buildings of the east wing. Sir Walter Scott has placed here the scene of the last imprisonment and death of David, Duke of Rothesay, in 1402. He describes his being carried unconscious down this staircase, and he uses the guard-room at the bottom for the purpose of his romantic dungeon, while it is through its little window that the unhappy prince is made to be succoured by Catherine Glover.

'The office of Keeper, which I have now the honour to hold,' writes Lord Bute, 'is strictly hereditary and saleable property, differing from freehold only in the obligation not to allow the building to dilapidate, an obligation, however, which has sat rather lightly on the consciences of some of my predecessors.' The same charge cannot be brought against the present holder, who has taken even generous views of these duties, and has entered on their discharge with interest and enthusiasm.

The work divides itself into two, that of excavation, and that of restitution. In the former, Lord Bute has been successful in discovering so much of the old castle, whose very posi-

tion was uncertain, as to enable him to make out its main features. 'The northern part of the rising ground, on which the whole place, except the stables, etc., is placed, is undoubtedly the site of at least the most important building of the earlier period. In the north-east angle we have found the principal building of all. This is a round tower of about fifty feet in diameter. These are the remains of the great tower of Falkland, so often mentioned by early writers, and sometimes spoken of as though a synonym for the manor or castle itself, that *turris de Falkland* to which we know that David, Duke of Rothesay was carried, in which he was imprisoned, and in which he died.'

'The foundations have been the subject of the excavations I have been able to make, and my intention with regard to these is to build them up so far, that the plan of the ancient building will appear above the ground in the form of low walls and terraces; but I interpose one narrow layer of brick between the ancient remains and my own restoration, so as to guard the antiquary of the future against any possible error. That, and such repairs and restitutions of existing buildings as may be safely made, is the work to be done at Falkland.'

Referring to some previous attempt, Lord Bute remarks, 'The place was restored as a ruin.' It is plain that he intends something beyond this. The result will be awaited with interest. It is not sufficiently understood, that ruins as such, are not desirable, and may be without meaning. There is as much vandalism in leaving them alone as in tasteless repairs. What we deprecate is any approach to what has taken place at Stirling, of which Lord Bute says, 'While that unhappy building remains in the condition to which it has at present been reduced, it is impossible to tell what its internal arrangements may, or may not have been.' We shall be glad to hear of similar work being begun elsewhere, so that the visitor may have a chance of knowing what he is looking at. Even St. Andrews would benefit were some of its raggedness removed, and we can imagine no more fitting way in which the Lord Rector could signalise and perpetuate his connection with that



city, than by infusing a little of his own spirit, and interesting those most concerned in a movement of revival.

Within the last two or three years old Fife has become new. The change is too great not to deserve a passing notice. The remarkable structures which bridge over the Tay and the Forth, have converted into a high road what was an out-of-the-way place, visited mainly by those who had business there. The natives when, John Gilpin like, they took an occasional holiday, had to go a long distance round to accomplish their purpose. Old fashioned people still look back with a sigh on the journey by the ferries, which, if somewhat prolonged, was at the same time more varied and picturesque; but the majority, no doubt, are in favour of the greater facilities. Unhappily no great reform is possible without inconvenience and loss to individuals. Traffic is diverted, and places full of cheerful bustle, languish. Life takes another path, and straightway grass begins to grow on the deserted one. A whole large district to the south has thus been isolated. Burntisland, once the liveliest and brightest scene in the county, is the greatest, at least the most widely known sufferer.

In Fifeshire it would thus seem that we have a continuation of the imperfect story of Forfarshire, the very next chapter in the history of the earth without break of continuation or interest. The younger stratum of the latter is continuous across the Tay with the older stratum of the former, but almost immediately gives place to more recent developments which in their turn pass out of sight under something still newer.

The same progressive change from ancient to modern is noticeable in the life history. The comparatively dead rocks to the north are succeeded by others bearing increasing traces of life. The inorganic passes into the organic. The barren sandstone quarries of Forfarshire are represented by the teeming coal pits of Fife. In the course of its formation the county has known several great epochs; notably the era of ganoid fishes in the upper old red sandstone; and, with the appearance of dry land, the rush of coal-forming vegetation. Add to these the extreme activity of the volcanic forces during

the formation of the lower carboniferous beds ; coming in such sharp contrast with the preceding period of quietude ; and that again in a contrast equally sharp with the older outbreak represented in the Ochils ; and we have a condition of things which gives to the igneous rocks of Fifeshire an absorbing interest.

At least three places within its boundaries, St. Andrews, Tents Muir, and Dura Den, are of more than local reputation. Altogether the county has a good deal to entitle it to general attention.

Easier of access from Edinburgh and the south, Fifeshire has played a larger and more important part in the drama of national life than its northern and comparatively secluded neighbour. Its traditions date further back, its history is more interesting, its notable men are more numerous. Its people get the credit of possessing greater pawkiness than their neighbours, of being on this side of the border what Yorkshiremen are on the other ; whether it be so or no, let those who have had dealings with them tell. It may not be all advantage, seeing that it is not always possible to combine the useful and the beautiful ; but if we must stay in Fife, keep us outside the line where its wealth begins, within the wooded Strath of Eden, which yields little more than variously tinted stones to build the walls of the houses, and clay to bake, and cover them over with warm red tiles.

J. H. CRAWFORD.

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### ART. III.—THE LOW DEATH-RATE.

NO more certain proof of the prosperity of a community can be given than a rapidly decreasing death-rate. When poverty, scarcity of employment, commercial depression, pauperism and vice are prevalent they invariably make their influence felt by increased illness and a heavier mortality. Now, as for at least a full generation the sanitary condition of the United Kingdom has been improving, we have in this falling death-rate the most

unanswerable proof that, on the whole, though not to the same degree in all parts of the country, nor equally in all years, the general condition of the nation must be getting better, and of late this advance has been going on with greater rapidity than ever.

Dr. Alfred Hill, the distinguished Medical Officer of Health for Birmingham, and one of the ablest workers in this important field, in his address on public medicine in July, 1890, at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association, while crediting sanitary science with its full due used the following words:—

‘The active revival of sanitary work may be regarded as taking place about 1873, and a glance at the death-rate of the country generally, or of the aggregate of the twenty largest English towns, or of the principal towns, proves that in the seventeen years (to 1889) there has been a great improvement in every instance in the public health as marked by the decline in the death-rate. In the whole of England and Wales the diminution is from 21·2 to 17·9 per 1,000 of the population; in the twenty largest towns the fall is from 24·4 to 19·0 per 1,000, while, taking certain communities, we find that in London the death-rate has fallen from 22·5 to 17·4, in Liverpool from 25·9 to 21·6, in Birmingham from 24·8 to 18·4, in Manchester from 30·1 to 26·7, in Salford from 29·3 to 20·5, in Leeds from 27·6 to 22·1, in Bristol from 23·1 to 19·6, in Norwich from 21·5 to 18·4, and in Maidstone from 22·8 to 13·7. The ratios of these amounts of diminution in the death-rate are very various, as indeed might be anticipated from the original sanitary and other conditions existing, even supposing that similar sanitary efforts had been made by each town. The diminution of the general mortality for England and Wales is 15·6 per cent.; for the twenty large towns 22·1 per cent.; for London 22·6 per cent.; for Liverpool 16·6; for Birmingham 25·8; for Manchester 11·3; Leeds 20; Sheffield 19; Salford 30; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 16·3; Norwich 14·4; and Bristol 23·8. For Maidstone the diminution in the death-rate has attained the extraordinary figure of 40 per cent. It would be interesting to know why Manchester, Salford, and Newcastle, having in 1873 death-rates very nearly the same, should differ so much in the results of their sanitary operations, that while Salford has effected a reduction of 30 per cent., Newcastle should have benefitted to the extent of only 16·3 and Manchester of only 11·3, particularly as it is notorious that the last town has displayed marked sanitary activity during the whole period in question. It is interesting to observe that Bristol and Birmingham, with similar death-rates in 1873, have reduced them by amounts much more on a par with each other, namely, 23·8 per cent. and 25·8 per cent. respectively.

But the diminution in the death-rate, extraordinary though it be, gives very little idea of the real improvement in the condition of the nation, because certain causes have also, at the same time, been in operation, which might be reasonably expected to enormously increase the death-rate, and as in spite of these adverse influences, it has fallen, we have additional reason to conclude that the nation is rising steadily, perhaps rapidly. These adverse circumstances are the keener competition of modern town life with its accompanying unfortunate influence in lowering the vitality of many great classes of workers; then, again, although trade is undoubtedly improving, and employment is better, there has been of late years unquestionably a vast amount of commercial depression and uneasiness: while the agricultural classes have suffered severely, and the ever increasing pressure of population, although much relieved by emigration, the importation of cheap food from abroad, and the fresh openings constantly being made by the expansion and better organisation of trade cannot but, at times and in places, intensify the severity of the struggle for existence, and thus lead to more sickness and a higher mortality among the less robust and fortunate. Again, the inevitable tendency to greater density of population in the large towns, attended, as residence in them must be, by want of fresh air and by insufficient outdoor exercise, is another prejudicial circumstance; nevertheless in spite of the operation of causes, which might be expected to send up the death-rate, it is reassuring that, year by year, the United Kingdom shows a better condition of the public health. We shall first show that our contention that a fall in the death-rate is going on holds good, and then the causes of this improvement will call for enquiry.

It may seem to many of our readers that an article like the present, just after the three epidemics of influenza of 1890, '91 and '92, is rather out of place. We differ entirely from them. In the first place, although in each of these years there were many hundreds of thousands of cases of influenza, and the mortality for a few weeks in some towns reached an appallingly high figure, the percentage of deaths to the whole community for the three years was small, and did not seriously swell the

annual figures; while experience shows that whenever a wave of sickness and death passes over the nation, making its dread influence felt for a time, there is generally a much lower sick and death-rate soon after, possibly due to the removal of many sickly and infirm people. A greater difficulty has been to get the latest statistics, and the census of 1891 showed that many of the great towns had not been adding to their population so rapidly as formerly. In many cases the death-rate, it is clear, was a little higher than supposed, while the population was smaller. This inaccuracy becomes more marked towards the close of a decennium. We draw attention to this matter, though we do not believe that, except in the case of Liverpool, it will be found that our figures err much one way or the other; broadly speaking we have used the most recent available returns.

As for facts, although the passage quoted from Dr. Hill's address is sufficiently suggestive, the death-rate of 1886 was, with the exception of 1881 and 1885, the lowest recorded up to that time. In 1881 the mortality from all causes fell slightly below 19 per 1,000, although in 1886 the rate was a trifle above 19. Since 1863 the male mortality has not decreased so rapidly as the female, the presumption being that a larger portion of the male mortality lies outside the sphere benefitted by sanitary progress: as men more frequently than women suffer from violence, overfatigue, intemperance, and vicious excess. Among 1,000 of the urban population 20 die in a year, while in the rural districts the rate is 18, but the difference between the two is lessening, and is considerably smaller than it was a few years ago, and the healthiness of towns, estimated by their death-rate, is improving more rapidly than that of rural districts. In 1887 the death-rate fell to 19·0, actually the lowest on record. For seven years, 1881-7, the mean annual death-rate was only 19·2, or 2·2 below that of the preceding 10 years, 1871-80. This enormous diminution means that 400,000 persons were in England and Wales alone alive at the end of the seven years, who would have died had the mortality continued as high as in the very healthy ten years, 1871-80. The death-rate from zymotic diseases was 3·96, 4·15 and 3·4 per thousand respectively in the three decennia,



1851-60, 61-70, and 71-80, while in the first seven years of the decennium, 1881-90, it actually did not exceed 2·42. These astonishing figures are however eclipsed by the annual summary recently issued by the Registrar General, which gives the details of the births and deaths, and the causes of death in London and in the twenty-seven other great towns of England and Wales during 1889. The population of these places was estimated at rather over nine and a half millions; and compared with the mean of the seven preceding years, a marked decline was noticed both in the birth and the death-rates: the latter varied remarkably in the different towns, and to make a comparison of the several localities possible, certain corrections are applied to the apparent death-rate; the result of this is to alter the estimate of mortality in certain cases, changing the relative position of some of the towns. Whether estimated according to the ordinary or the corrected death-rate, Brighton is the most healthy of the twenty-eight; while Derby comes next, and Norwich is promoted from the seventh to the third place, and London is reduced from the fifth to the seventh. Four gradations of mortality are represented by the twenty-eight towns, arranged in groups of seven; London has the honour, and a great honour it is when allowance is made for the high price of land and the enormous population unavoidably packed together on so narrow an area, of appearing in the first group, though last of the seven; Portsmouth heads the next, which ends with Cardiff; the third begins with Wolverhampton and ends with Liverpool, while Sunderland heads the fourth, and Preston takes the last place of all. According to this comparison, the same number of persons that, in 1889, gave 1,000 deaths in England and Wales generally, gave 872 in Brighton, 1,038 in London, 1,186 in Cardiff, 1,327 in Liverpool, and 1,927 in Preston, the mortality of the last being more than double that of Brighton. Leicester, much of which is new, while the artisans are generally housed in neat, commodious houses, and Nottingham, where the number of new tenements is also exceedingly large, appear in the first group. Huddersfield and Bradford in the second, Halifax and Leeds in the third, and Bolton, Blackburn, and Manchester in the fourth.

Manchester is only one degree better than Preston, its mortality standing at 1,668, a striking contrast to Leicester, which figures with one of 993. The greater mortality of large towns is curiously shown; for while the death-rate, that is to say, the number dying in a year per 1,000 of the population, is 17·85 for the whole of England and Wales, the death-rate falls to 16·77 when the twenty-eight large towns are eliminated; these great towns had in 1889 a death-rate of 20·55. The death-rate of England and Wales in the year under review was, with the exception of that of 1888, which was 17·8, the lowest ever registered.

In London, 1889 was remarkable for its 'excessively low rates;' the birth and death-rate being the smallest ever recorded, and the marriage-rate, with one exception, that of 1888, was also the lowest. The recovery in the marriage-rate from 16·1 to 16·3 was slight. The births were 30·3 per 1,000. Although in London the birth-rate has been going down continuously since 1876, the mortality has fallen still more rapidly; so that the excess of births over deaths in 1889 reached 55·804, compared with an average of 51·772 in the four years immediately preceding. The deaths registered in the Metropolis in 1889 correspond to an annual rate of 17·4 per 1,000; this is decidedly the lowest yet recorded in London. The four next lowest rates were those of the four years immediately preceding 1889. Compared with the average deaths of the ten years, 1879-88, there was in 1889 a diminution of 13,224; or in other words, had the death-rate been equal to that of the preceding decennium, 13,224 more persons would have died in London. Only one death from small-pox occurred, and there was a decline of 4,376 in the deaths from diseases of the respiratory organs, and of 1,920 from phthisis and other tubercular diseases. There is, as a per contra, a singular increase in the deaths from cancer, the excess being 222, while diphtheria shows an advance of 656. The registered mortality from cancer has been rising for many years; this lamentable increase may be more apparent than real, and may be in part due to better diagnosis, though that cannot possibly account for the whole of the additional mortality, while diphtheria has also had a steadily increasing mortality in the Metro-

polis for many years, and made the 'most alarming bounds' in 1888 and 1889; the deaths from this disease were, in London, in 1889, 1,588, the decennial average, corrected for increase of population being 932. In half the Metropolitan sanitary areas the deaths from diphtheria have, since 1887, risen at least 50 per cent., and in many they have doubled, while in some the number has more than trebled in that short time.

The larger mortality from cancer is a matter of common discussion in all circles; it may be more apparent than real, as we have said above, but medical opinion inclines to the view that it is in great measure a nervous disease, and the ever-increasing worry and turmoil of modern life may account for many cases. Had all diseases shown a reduced rate, the average age at death would be surprisingly high, perhaps little short of three score and ten.

In relation to the London mortality, it is encouraging to find a decrease in the deaths from violence, the number falling considerably below the corrected decennial average; murders and homicides declined from 85 to 79, suicides from 400 to 373, and the deaths from accident and negligence from 2,679 to 2,475—one-fourth of the last being due to the deaths of infants under a year old, suffocated in bed; 44 accidental deaths were caused by fire, and 254 by horses or conveyances in the street; in the latter class, vans, waggons, and drays took the lead, cabs came next, and carts third, the deaths thus caused being respectively 83, 52, and 40. Omnibuses follow with 29 deaths.

Interesting particulars are attached to the mortality tables respecting the Metropolitan water supply. The water supplied from the Thames in 1889 is described as being 'superior to that of any former year as regards comparative freedom from organic impurities.' Two of the samples examined during the year were turbid, but no 'moving organisms' were found. The water from the Thames, the Lea, and other sources, including deep wells, averaged nearly 168 million gallons a day.

'Had anyone,' continued Dr. Hill in his suggestive address, 'two hundred years ago, predicted that the death-rate of 80 per 1,000 in London would be reduced to 20, his statement would have excited ridicule. If as

late as 1873 the prognostication had been made that the sanitary activity then commencing would result, in the comparatively short space of seventeen years, in a reduction of the death-rate in the twenty large English towns to the extent of 22 per cent., and in Salford of 30 per cent., and in Maidstone of 40 per cent., such a forecast would have been regarded as visionary ; yet these magnificent results are now accomplished facts. But it must not be supposed that the limit of improvement is reached.'

The *Times*, recently, very well summarised the causes of the lower death-rate in a review of the mortality taken for the year, and it remarked that :—

' . . . public authorities, almost without exception, appear to have attained to a sound practical recognition of the duties which the progress of knowledge has imposed upon them. Coupled with these conditions an immense amelioration of the lives of multitudes of Londoners has been effected by the weekly half-holiday—by the increased facilities of access to the country and to the suburbs, by the multiplication of open spaces, by the possession of plots of ground devoted to cricket and other games, and by the excellent food of which the working classes are accustomed plentifully to partake.'

Having established the first part of our contention, the more difficult task remains—that of ascertaining the causes ; and here the greatest latitude necessarily presents itself. The medical profession very naturally takes immense credit to itself, and is apt to assert that the whole improvement is due to its strenuous exertions. These pretensions were put with admirable clearness by an eminent Metropolitan physician ; who could hardly be accused of not advancing claims sufficiently audacious. When we were a student at University College we could not help being greatly struck by the untiring application and devotion to work of a gentleman considerably our senior—then a young and unknown practitioner, now, as Dr. Gowers, well and favourably known far beyond the ranks of the profession, which he adorns by his spotless life and great integrity, and on which he has shed lustre by his diligent researches into the mysteries of the nervous system. In 1884, Dr. Gowers had the honour of delivering the annual inaugural address at University College, and in the course of that able speech touched upon the value of medical science to the community. Far be it from us to criticise harshly or unkindly any remarks of this accomplished and upright man, who

has so early in life had the crowning honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, but we were positively startled to read that:—

‘In Great Britain and Ireland there are about 20,000 medical men in actual practice; most of these have scores, some hundreds, of patients under treatment every week. I do not think it is an over-estimate to assume that each practitioner in active work is instrumental in saving one life a week. If you consider the varied cases that come under his care, the acute diseases, accidents, the double perils of childbirth, and the dangerous maladies avoided by timely treatment, I think that this assumption is below the truth. But halve this estimate; assume that he saves two lives a month, or twenty-five a year, and many practitioners demonstrably save this number in childbirth only. In the aggregate even this low estimate amounts to half a million of deaths prevented every year. Is not this a service to the community, before which most others, and many far more highly honoured, pale? And to this must be added the cases of slighter disease and suffering prevented and relieved, many times exceeding in number the deaths prevented, even, when every allowance is made for the cases in which, alas, the resources of our art are still powerless. Take, again, the progress of sanitary science, which is adding so much to the health and longevity of the nation. To whom is this due? Sanitary work has passed so largely into special hands that few remember that the movement is all but entirely due to our profession. It is to medical science that all the knowledge of the causes of disease is due, which has shown the way for prevention. It is to the efforts of practitioners of medicine that we owe the stirring of public opinion, by which the progress of sanitation has been rendered possible, and which has produced, outside the ranks of our profession, noble workers—only too few, who have aided our efforts and advanced our cause. And to-day in town and country, over the face of England, in the gloom of crowded cities, and in the fairer cottage homes, where nature spreads her beauty over man’s neglect, it is the members of our profession who labour untiringly against the obstructions of ignorance, prejudice, and almost criminal apathy, obstruction too often successful, until the warnings given receive some fearful emphasis.’

Could we accept such estimates as those of Dr. Gowers, we should not need to seek far for the explanation of the low death-rate of the past few years. But can we accept them? Medical practitioners see little and know less of the course of disease under natural circumstances—left, that is, without skilled medical attendance, and it is pardonable if they enormously, though unintentionally, exaggerate the value of their art. Nothing has struck us more than the favourable course which many



diseases run when the physician is not called in; there is, in other words, in most illnesses, a tendency to recovery which the skilled medical attendant can assist, accelerate and direct, but nevertheless he needs great caution in claiming for his assistance a value which it does not possess. Every medical man knows that, in spite of the wonderful advance of modern medical science, the occasions are very numerous when his best efforts do not appear to be rewarded, and we must, even in these days of more cautious prescribing, admit that the cases are not infrequent in which powerful drugs unskilfully administered actually cut life short; the net value of the doctor's services, therefore, can only be ascertained by deducting the cases in which he does harm from those in which he does good. We have narrowly watched many patients under our care, and we have thought that our treatment had done much for their relief, and yet we have subsequently heard of their passing quite as comfortably and rapidly through another attack without any help from art. The late Dr. Russell, Senior Physician to the Birmingham General Hospital, used to warn his pupils not to repose over great confidence in drugs, and he once impressively said to us that the very last thing a young practitioner learnt was the limited power of medicines, and the incredible powers of nature. We should not feel justified in giving place and names, but we once witnessed a long series of experiments conducted by a most illustrious physician, still living, although no longer in practice, on certain groups of hospital patients; they were, several times a day, given a teaspoonful of water from a medicine bottle. This gentleman believed that in some complaints rest and warmth would do as much as more energetic and orthodox treatment, and his results were such as to warrant this expectation. And we can also remember the indelible impression made on our mind by more than one conversation with Sir Henry Acland, when we were, for a time, acting as House Surgeon of the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford. It was a part of our weekly duty to fill in the hospital books, and to give a brief summary of the condition of the patients. We began by saying something like this, one day that Sir Henry was assisting us in posting up the weekly report: 'John Smith, discharged *cured*; Henry Williams, discharged

*cured.* 'Stop,' exclaimed the courteous and accomplished Regius Professor of Physic; 'Please say that again.' We did so. '*Cured*,' repeated Sir Henry with his sweet smile, 'well I *once* knew a patient cured, though I even had some doubts about him, but I have known many relieved, while of course a great number get well. Let us say "discharged, well;" we must be careful how we use such a term as *cured*.' We were young then, 22; and we are not sure that we fully caught the gentle reproof so courteously conveyed. Sir Henry may have completely forgotten the occurrence, but we have not, and it made us understand that the physician can often relieve, and that nature, given fair play, can cure, but that the former must be exceedingly cautious in claiming very much from his remedies and treatment. Perhaps we have too deeply pondered over the words of these masters of their art, but it has often seemed to us that we doctors must be exceedingly cautious, and the more carefully we examine, the less certain are we that our help is of the signal importance we often believe it to be. Do doctors save a million lives a year? do they save half a million? do they save five lives apiece? do they save one apiece? Well, we will not decide, but let us credit them, to be on the safe side, with saving two apiece all round; of course, besides this they, in many cases, relieve suffering; they promote recovery, and they prevent relapses, but that is a very different matter from being 'instrumental' in saving human life, and, alas, too often when disease has obtained a firm hold the best efforts of the greatest physician are doomed to disheartening failure.

That veteran apostle of sanitary reform, the late Sir Edwin Chadwick, under date of April 10, 1890, addressed a letter to the *Times* on the sickness and mortality of the London Police Force. Portions of this letter, bearing upon the death-rate to be expected in a picked body of men exposed to the same conditions and protected from many of the causes of disease, have a high permanent value, so that we venture to give them here.

'I have been led to examine the last report of the Commissioner of Police. Formerly, when the death-rates were examined, they were found to be 12, 11, and 10, per 1,000. I now rejoice to find that the death-rate does not exceed 5.14 per 1,000, or, say 5 per 1000, including those in

action and excluding, of course, those who retire or are pensioned off. This is the lowest death-rate of any force I have heard of excepting the soldiers of the Prussian army at Berlin, who are regularly washed with tepid water, and who, after three years' service leaves the force with no less than 30 per cent. more value, paid by Mr. Aird and other sanitary engineers in their labour market. I expect a still further reduction there from the reduction of the death-rate of the general population by the advance of sanitary measures. In spite of the satisfactory death-rate, however, it appears from the returns that the sickness prevalent in our metropolitan force is excessive, the average daily proportion being 29·5 per 1,000. The proportion of cases of sickness during the year 1888 was 590 per 1,000. This is excessive, and I confidently expect that, on due examination, which should be early undertaken, very large improvements may be effected. I have understood that about two-thirds of the force are married men with families, whose condition admits of great improvement. I am of opinion that sanitary improvements, with the new and cheaper means of washing and ventilation, cannot fail to effectually reduce this excessive sickness. Buildings may be obtained largely in advance of the Peabody-buildings, or any other of the model dwellings, which Sir Douglas Galton estimates as effecting a gain of ten years of life to the male occupiers. By the consultation of experiences in sanitation, large reductions of infantile as well as adult mortality may be insured to our police force, as well as the means of considerable economy to the families and improvements in food and in education. An edifice might be provided, in which the numerous children of the families could be saved from the atmosphere of ill-ventilated Board Schools constructed without regard to the sanitary principles exemplified in the Orphans' Home School, where the children's diseases—typhus, measles, scarlatina—are abolished.'

Surgeon-General T. Graham Balfour, a recognised authority in health matters, did not however let Sir Edwin Chadwick's letter pass without comment. He wrote to the *Times*, under date of April 17, 1890, and asked for the insertion of a few qualifying statements.

'Will you, in justice to our service, permit me to point out that in the latest volume published of the Army Medical Department Reports, that for 1887, the death-rate of the whole of the troops serving in the United Kingdom was 5·13 per 1000, while in the Household Cavalry it was only 4·01, in the Cavalry of the Line 4·29, and in the infantry 4·59 per 1000.'

We are justified in expecting an annual death-rate of 12 per 1000, and a daily sick rate of 20 per 1000 in ordinary times, when sanitary measures, abreast of the present state of the science,

are generally enforced: though of course the social, economic and moral condition of the nation would also need to be better than now—it is fortunately improving.

Lord Playfair, in one of his presidential addresses, once said, and any words of his always have great value:—

‘Since the Crimean war, the military authorities aided by the excellent hygienists among the medical officers of the army, have placed the health of the army in a much more satisfactory condition, and the result is that the mortality of the army is now less than half what it was before the war. But it is not in our army alone that such results have been produced. Formerly the deaths from sickness in campaigns were four times as numerous as those from wounds. Every campaign now lessens the proportion, because the sanitary condition of a soldier’s life, both in peace and in war, is much better attended to. In the Franco-German war the German troops lost less than a third of their dead by disease, while formerly the loss had been four times that from wounds. The following figures give the deaths from disease for every hundred men lost in the campaign: French in the Crimean War, 79; United States troops in the American war, 80; Germans, in the last French war, 29. The small loss from disease compared with that from wounds in the French army promises much for military hygiene in future campaigns. In the Crimean War, after the sad experience among our own troops, owing to defective sanitary organisation, we sent out a sanitary commission and improved the hygienic condition of our troops, while France failed to do so, and the final result, according to Chenu, is that while we lost 12 per 1000 of our men, France lost 155 of hers. Formerly the rate of mortality in the chief towns of British India, such as Calcutta and Bombay, was appalling; now by hygienic improvements, and in spite of the tropical climate, it scarcely exceeds that of Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow.’

During the Crimean War, under defective conditions, 16,297 of our soldiers died of disease, irrespective of the mortality from wounds; while in the Ashantee expedition of 1874, which, on account of the care taken concerning all its medical arrangements, was described by Lord Derby as ‘a doctor’s war,’ there was scarcely any mortality from disease at all. When the expedition was first planned, Sir Garnet Wolseley quoted an assertion that coffins would be the chief, perhaps the only, requirement of European troops engaged in a campaign on the Gold Coast: but he had sufficient sagacity and firmness to give unflinching support to the recommendations of the surgeons

under his command, and to pay personal attention to carrying out the necessary hygienic precautions. In the words of the *Times* correspondent at the time, Surgeon-General Sir Anthony Dickson Home organised the 'medical arrangements of the camp with a wisdom and forethought almost amounting to genius.' One result of this distinguished surgeon's labours was that, out of about 50 officers and 500 men received on board the hospital ship *Victor Emmanuel*, only two of the former and three of the latter died from disease.

The fall in the death-rate of the United Kingdom during the past twenty years must by this time represent a decline of 5 per 1000, in other words putting the present population at 38,000,000 it means an annual saving of 190,000 lives. This may be an excessive estimate, for mathematical accuracy is unattainable, but that is not the point. We want to emphasize that the mortality which in one town seems reasonable should not be exceeded in another of equal size, and that if it is, something is radically wrong. Take Manchester with a death-rate of 29 or 30 and contrast it with 18 in Birmingham, 14 in Nottingham and 17 *mirabile dictu* in London. Why should double as many per 1000 die in Manchester as in Nottingham? why should not, when equal numbers are compared, the mortality of Birmingham be 3000 higher than it is unless something is unpardonably deficient at Manchester. Years ago Sir Spencer Wells was called a sanitary enthusiast for saying that the mortality of London might one day stand at 12 per 1000, and now positively, under the skilful supervision of Dr. Gwynn, the health officer of Hampstead, the death-rate of that important suburb, only five miles from Charing Cross, stands at 10.5 per 1000. But we have not done with Manchester. Dr. Threst shows that in District No. 1, Ancoats, the mortality is 30 per thousand, while in the courts it exceeds 80, and in one street reaches 90, nearly eight times the death-rate of Hampstead.

That the death-rate of many towns in the Three Kingdoms still admits of considerable reduction no experienced medical practitioner questions. He knows that senile decay is rarely indeed the true cause of death: he knows that very many of the deaths



which take place, in spite of the most skilful treatment and untiring care, might be prevented, or to be more exact, he can conceive of conditions in which death would not have happened for many years. A large number of premature deaths must be the penalty of the competition of modern life, of the mining and manufacturing operations always going on; of the perpetual hurrying to and fro by land and sea: vice and intemperance too will long continue to swell the annual total. True, advances in medicine and surgery may here and there save a life, but the principal triumphs undoubtedly will accrue from healthier houses, more natural and temperate living, the rapid removal of refuse, the abolition of cesspools, and the spreading out of the working classes over a still wider area. We no longer dare look for brilliant and signal triumphs, for so much has been accomplished in the past, but attention to minor details will save many lives and a general death-rate of 14 or 15 in the United Kingdom is not only probable, but certain before another generation is past.

The much higher death-rate of France, as well indeed as of all other populous countries, shows how successful we have been in England, in spite of our many faults of omission, in improving the conditions of life. We have the lowest death-rate, the smallest percentage of sickness, and the highest average of health in the world, but much still remains to be done. France, although far before most other countries, is much behind us, and considering the unfavourable hygienic conditions of her great towns and rural districts it is no wonder that her mortality is high. Were the sanitary conditions the same in the two countries France ought to have a considerably lower death-rate than England: as her birth rate is 23 per 1000 against our 30, there are consequently fewer children of an age when the mortality is greatest. But the death-rate of France during the five years 1884-8 was 22·3 per thousand, while that of England was under 19. The difference between these figures is enormous; it means, that in a given population seven deaths occur in France against six in England. And when we analyse the causes of the higher mortality, we see that it is due to imperfect sanitation. The mortality from fever cannot be precisely ascertained, but an

official report addressed a couple of years ago to the Comité d'Hygiène estimated that it accounted for 21,350 deaths annually, or 600 per million. In England and Wales the yearly deaths from this cause are 5000, or 170 per million. Roughly speaking there is three times as much fever in France as in England. Although no detailed statistics relating to the whole country are obtainable, the Bureau de l'Hygiène has published a classified return of the mortality in towns with a population of over 10,000. It will be well to contrast the figures for Paris with those of London; and according to Professor Marshall of Cambridge, these are the two largest manufacturing towns in the world, while their inhabitants have many conditions in common. In the five years ending with 1889, the death-rate of Paris was 23·5; that of London 19·0. This difference is startling, but an analysis brings out more striking facts. The two diseases most directly influenced by sanitary conditions are typhoid fever and diarrhœa. Only where the water is polluted, the sewerage defective, and the earth and air fouled by accumulations of filth, do they flourish. In these five years the average annual number of deaths from enteric fever in Paris was 1,072; in London with double the population, 612. In other words, in a given population there was three or four times as much fever in Paris as in London. The reasons are not far to seek. In London though shortcomings abound in the sanitary administration of certain districts, we have an efficient system of sewerage and a supply of pure water which almost satisfies the most exacting tests that chemical analysis can apply. In Paris, not only are many sewers badly made and insufficiently ventilated, but thousands of houses drain into cesspools (*puisards*), and filth accumulates for months in the midst of a crowded population. That part of the water obtained from wells in the greensand is excellent; the same may be said of that brought by aqueducts from the valley of the Vanne; while that which comes from the Seine and Marne is not worse than might be expected from rivers running through many towns and villages with faulty drainage. But nearly half the entire supply is drawn from the Ourcq Canal, and this water is seriously polluted. What wonder that, with these drawbacks, zymotic diseases prevail in the French capital,

But if the sanitary condition of Paris leaves much to be desired, that of many provincial towns is incomparably worse; and in some of them the deaths from preventable diseases are appallingly numerous. The last statistical return, that for 1888, is worth examining, bearing in mind that that year had, with one exception, the lowest mortality in the last quarter of a century. The general death-rate in 1888 in the twenty-eight largest towns in England was 19·12, the highest being Manchester with 26·1, while in the twenty-nine largest towns in France the death-rate was 25·4: Marseilles had a death-rate of nearly 29, Havre of 35·5, Montpellier of 33, Brest of 32, Dieppe of 32, and Rheims of 31. In the smaller towns still higher figures prevail. Ivry, near Paris, had a death-rate of 43; Lambezelle, a town of 16,000 inhabitants, the same; so had Morlaix; while Douarnenez, also in the Finisterre, with a population of 11,000, actually had a mortality of 53 per 1000. Gentilly, in the department of the Seine, had a death-rate of more than 50, though some part of this was probably due to the town containing the Bicêtre. As to the two diseases already mentioned as a good index of the sanitary condition of a community, they were nearly everywhere prevalent and in some towns they are endemic. In English towns, in every 10,000 of the population, two persons died of fever in 1888, and six of diarrhœa. The corresponding rates in the twenty-nine largest provincial towns of France were 6 and 23 respectively; in Havre they stood at 26 and 30, in Lorient 28 and 4, in Rouen 8 and 74, in Cherbourg 24 and 19, and in Brest 11 and 20. In nearly all the towns there was more or less fever, and in many the mortality was so high that a severe epidemic was evidently raging. Many watering-places, especially those of Brittany, suffer in this way year after year, and visitors in search of health not seldom find infection. At present there is a good deal of fever at Trouville, and as it constantly prevails in towns on the French coast frequented by the English, it is to be regretted that so few people, when choosing a holiday resort, take the trouble to ascertain its sanitary condition. Even in England this is advisable, but enough has been said to show how much more necessary in France. Sanitary defects abound in every French town and village, and yet things are not as bad as they used to be.

Increased control over the causes of disease, such as less competition, over-fatigue, and vice, and better sanitary surroundings would do much to bring the death-rate down still lower than anything now obtaining in any large town; indeed, could we eliminate all the causes which tend to shorten life, it is scarcely possible to compute how low the death and sick rates would fall. Senile decay very frequently figures in certificates of death, but it is used with a freedom it very little merits. Many thousands of aged people die every year worn out, not from mere lapse of years, but from long continued complaints or from over work under unfavourable surroundings earlier in life. When we reach a higher average of civilisation, with a still greater regard to hygiene and more favourable surroundings, the proportion of cases of real senile decay will be vastly larger, while the age at death will be materially higher.

What surer proof of the value of good sanitary surroundings can be given than the following? Many towns long and justly reputed to be pestilential, have become as healthy as any under the sun when well devised sanitary measures have been carried out. Take Hong Kong as a most remarkable illustration. In 1842-43 the deaths among our troops quartered there ranged from 19 to 22 per cent.; that is the annual death-rate per 1000, among picked, powerful men in the prime of life, was between 199 and 220—a perfectly appalling sacrifice, much exceeding that usual in war. But in 1845, as the result of better accommodation, the death-rate fell to 85 per 1000; and when model barracks were subsequently erected, it fell below 25 per 1000, a triumph showing that the climate, bad enough no doubt, was not the only thing to blame. Since 1845, sanitary science has made gigantic strides, and in 1870 the mortality had fallen to 16·02 per 1000, and in 1871 it was only 5·82, and of this Dr. Parkes asserted that only 3·88 were from disease. But here comes the proof that sanitary science ought to be credited with a change, not due to any improvement of climate, nor to accident. In 1865, great overcrowding occurred, and the accommodation provided for the garrison—a strong one—was wholly inadequate. The season may have been unhealthy, though no evidence of that is forthcoming. In that year and in the three or four preceding

it, when there was also great overcrowding, the admissions to hospital were 2,131 per 1000; which means that every man was, on the average, in hospital twice in the course of the year: invaliding prevailed, and the mortality rose to 56.25 per 1000. True, it was war time, and it might be objected that casualties in the field accounted for most of the deaths: they certainly did account for some, but not many, for the deaths from disease were 52.63 per 1000, and those from casualties in action only 3.62. As soon as overcrowding ceased, and sanitary science was again given full play, the mortality fell so low as to be hardly worth recording: it was reduced to 3.88 per 1000 from disease. Was not this a glorious triumph of sanitary science? A little overcrowding, a little negligence, and Hong Kong would again be a pest house, and to be quartered there would be far more dangerous than passing through a European war of the first magnitude.

‘If asked what have been the principal agencies by which the triumphs of preventive medicine have been achieved, there would be little hesitation in answering that the majority of the scourges which have afflicted mankind and been overcome, have yielded to cleanliness. Ague and small-pox have yielded to different and special influences, but the plague and the mediæval and early epidemics were banished by cleanliness. Typhus, thanks to the labours of Howard, was influenced by cleanliness as if by magic. Cholera, so fatal in its first visitations before its favouring conditions were understood, wrought terrible havoc where filthy conditions prevailed. I am just old enough to remember the cholera epidemic of 1831-2 in the neighbouring town of Bilston more particularly, where it horrified and paralysed the population by the alarming suddenness and extent of its devastations. From the different parts of the kingdom 52,000 deaths were reported; they were not registered; for until 1837 there were no civil registration and vital statistics, so that the number of deaths stated was probably only an approximation. In the next visitation in 1849, over 52,000 deaths by cholera were registered. The first public work I ever undertook was to attend during my studentship the victims of this particular epidemic in Birmingham; they were very few in number, and consisted mostly of imported cases; for in Birmingham cholera has never been able to establish itself. The next visitation was in 1854, when, with a purer state, the number of deaths in England and Wales amounted to only 20,000, for it had become known that filth of air, water and soil was the great promoter of this disease; and Dr. Snow had shown that sewage-polluted water, whether of rivers or wells, was one of the principal



agents in its dissemination ; and yet there are people living in this present year who object to the closure of wells whose water is proved to be polluted by sewage, more particularly when the wells are their own.

In 1866, the fourth visitation of cholera caused 14,378 deaths. Since then there have been several slight visitations, which were unable to make any permanent settlement in the country, or to cause any serious destruction of life. Greater cleanliness, that is, purer water, purer soil, purer air, appear to have changed the conditions necessary to constitute a *habitat* for the disease.

To a less extent, the occurrence of typhoid has become generally less common, and, though it does not appear that filth conditions give rise to the poisons of measles, whooping-cough, and scarlet fever, they seriously aggravate their severity. Yet the old lesson of thousands of years ago is still unlearned. The sanitarian has still to go forth and teach that, without cleanliness, health is impossible, and that though much has been done, very much remains to be done. In order to effect the required amelioration, we must secure, as far as possible, cleanliness and purity of air, water, soil, and food. This is the object to which human effort has been directed from the earliest historic times. The Jewish code clearly provided for such conditions with a precision and detail which strike the modern mind as over-elaborate, while the Romans had a system of sanitation which, as regards its baths, aqueducts, and gymnasia—magnificent evidences of which, after more than 2,000 years, bear witness of it—excites wonder and admiration. That cleanliness and purity, so much inculcated and practised thousands of years ago, should have been almost entirely neglected in modern times, is absolutely humiliating. After the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe lapsed into social conditions of filth which became habitual, and some religious orders actually inculcated it as a virtue. Not only have individuals to be taught, but sanitary authorities require educating. Much remains to be done in the direction of pure water supplies and the preservation of rivers from pollution ; the air is still rendered filthy and injurious by overcrowding, want of ventilation, intra- or juxta-mural burial grounds, offensive trades, badly constructed or improperly managed sewers and drains, the keeping of animals near dwellings, and conservancy systems of refuse disposal which, by retaining in the midst of the living what Nature distinctly tells us should be instantly removed, violate in the most direct and offensive manner one of her greatest and most legible laws, with the inevitable result of exacting a frightful payment for the infraction. The surface of the earth has to be rid of cesspools and surface filth of every kind, whether specific or non-specific, and the highest standard of purity aimed at with never-failing persistency. It is difficult to over-estimate the ultimate advantages of such a policy, but we are assured by experience that they must be very great to humanity, and prove the truth of the old dictum that "cleanliness is next godliness."

We have still much to learn regarding the subtle influence

which the mind has in averting disease, and in cutting it short when it has actually commenced. The subject is most abstruse and perplexing, and not one to be lightly handled at the end of an Article, which has already run to great length; but improved education undoubtedly lowers the death-rate by giving the mind greater fortitude. Why eminent medical practitioners so often ridicule the influence of the mind on the body we cannot conceive, for cases are of daily occurrence in which the most cautious physician is obliged more or less openly to confess that the *fons et origo mali* is the mind, the imagination, disordered or diseased.

Dr. Andrew Combe in his charming *Principles of Physiology, applied to the Preservation of Health*,—a book Kingsley valued very highly but not more highly than it deserves—says on this subject:—

‘In the army this principle has often been exemplified in a very striking manner, and on so large a scale as to put its influence beyond doubt. Sir George Ballingall mentions, in his *Lectures on Military Surgery*, that the proportion of sick in garrison in a healthy country, and under favourable circumstances, is about five per cent.; but that during a campaign the usual average is nearer ten per cent. So marked, however, are the preservative effects of cheerfulness and the excitement of success, that, according to Vaidy, the French army cantoned in Bavaria, after the battle of Austerlitz, had only 100 sick in a division of 8,000 men, being little more than one in the hundred. When, on the other hand, an army is subject to privations, or is discouraged by defeat or want of confidence in its chiefs, the proportion of the sick is often fearfully increased. So efficacious, on the other hand, is a more cheerful state of mind, from the more healthful nervous influence, which it diffuses through the frame, that surprising recoveries occasionally happen which can be ascribed to no other cause but this. A singular but instructive instance fell under the observation of Sir Humphry Davy, when, early in life, he was assisting Dr. Beddoes in his experiments on the inhalation of nitrous oxide. Dr. Beddoes having inferred that the oxide must be a specific for palsy, a patient was selected for trial, and placed under the care of Davy. Previously to administering the gas, Davy inserted a small thermometer under the tongue of the patient to ascertain the temperature. The paralytic man, wholly ignorant of the process to which he was to submit, but deeply impressed by Dr. Beddoes with the certainty of its success, no sooner felt the thermometer behind his teeth than he concluded the talisman was in operation, and, in a burst of enthusiasm, declared that he already experienced the effects of its benign influence throughout his whole body. The opportunity was too tempting

to be lost. Davy did nothing more, but desired his patient to return on the following day. The same ceremony was repeated; the same result followed; and *at the end of a fortnight he was dismissed cured*, no remedy of any kind except the thermometer having been used. Another remarkable instance occurred during the Siege of Breda in 1625. When the garrison was on the point of surrendering from the ravages of scurvy, a few phials of sham medicine, introduced by the Prince of Orange's orders, as the most valuable and infallible specific, and given in drops as such, produced astonishing effects. *Such as had not moved their limbs for months before were seen walking in the streets sound, straight, and whole*; and many who declared they had been rendered worse by all former remedies, recovered in a few days to their inexpressible joy.'

To sum up, the causes of the present low death-rate are numerous, though from the favourable influences must, as a preliminary, be deducted the unfavourable. That done, the balance is immensely on the side of the well-considered changes of late years. The greater prosperity of the working classes is a most important factor: the improvement in their house accommodation, the better drainage, the purer water, the lessened crime and vice, have all played a great part, nor should the spreading out of a larger proportion of the town population over a much wider area be omitted. The local railway service, and frequent trains, omnibuses and cheap steamers have so relieved the congestion of population in the main streets that many districts of London and of other great towns are, at night, and on Sundays, little less deserted than rural villages: nor should the cycle be left out as a most valuable factor: it enables an increasingly large number of men to get far away from their places of business, and to come half-a-dozen miles with only a moderate amount of pleasant and healthy exertion. Better medical attendance has also not been without its influence, although Dr. Gower's flattering estimate of its powers may not be accepted without qualification, while in the prevention of deaths from accident something must certainly be put to the credit of that excellent organisation—the St. John Ambulance Association, which is doing so much by lectures and examinations to disseminate throughout the country some knowledge of the physiology of the human system, and so teaching very many thousands of pupils every year what to do in emergencies to

preserve life. We can only roughly compute the good which any particular measures have effected in prolonging life, but the general results are satisfactory, and apparent to all inquirers, and they convince us that results still more brilliant are near at hand.

We cannot do better than close with the suggestive words of Dr. Hill—he is proud of the past and hopeful as to the future, but on the whole he is far from satisfied; he believes that greater care and a more enlightened policy would be crowned with still nobler triumphs.

‘Notwithstanding the great fall in death-rates generally, most large towns have death-rates which ought not to satisfy health authorities or health officers. While the death-rates of individual towns compared with similar death-rates years back, show great progress, a comparison of one town with another is not so satisfactory. Take an example; the corrected death-rates of Leicester and Preston in 1889 are respectively 17·73 and 32·61, the former having only a little more than half the mortality of the latter. As such a serious difference can hardly be due to geographical, geodesic, or social conditions, one is forced to the conclusion that it is due to the difference in the sanitary state of the two towns. In Derby and Norwich we find a death-rate less than that of England and Wales, while in Brighton it is 2·2 per 1000 below it. It would be unreasonable to expect manufacturing towns to vie with Brighton, but I cannot think it unreasonable to aim in any such town at a condition of health equal to that obtaining at present in Derby and Leicester.’

ALFRED J. H. CRESPI.

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#### ART. IV.—SIMON FRASER—LORD LOVAT. (*Ob.* 1747).

THE ‘rising of the forty-five’ still throws a halo round its contemporary period of Scottish history. After the lapse of nearly a century and a half, the picturesque and stirring incidents which characterised that historic episode still exercise a fascinating spell, showing how deep a root they struck in the national imagination. Nor is the reason of this far to seek. The drama was enacted almost exclusively on Scottish soil. The panorama that filled the stage depicted some of the most curious

and unfamiliar aspects of Scottish life. Its central figure was a youthful prince of an ancient Scottish line. To redeem his ancestral misfortunes and vindicate the claims of his birth, he had thrown himself unreservedly on the affections of a generous and impressionable people. Of seemly presence, courageous mood, urbane and chivalrous ways, he inspired among his followers a devotion as romantic as it was rare, and as he carried himself with a bright and benignant courtesy when his star was in the ascendant, so also did he bear himself with a manly fortitude when its lustre had set.

Prominent among the names associated with this memorable political interlude, occurs that of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. The singular attributes of this striking character,—the vulpine activities of his mind, the opposing vicissitudes of his fortunes, and ultimately, his conspicuous and tragic fate—have combined to furnish a page of human history which few biographical records can supply. Summoned while yet a youth from the seclusion of academic pursuits, to participate in family affairs, his energies were nursed amid feud and faction; and his career, from start to finish, ran through one successive development of antithetical and dramatic event. His personal concerns, with little intermission, constituted the urgent business of the statesmen of his day. The questions which affected his title and patrimony are still ranked as leading causes in the juridical statistics of his country. Occult schemes of statecraft—pursued with unwearied industry and practised with Machiavellian art—were the familiars of his life. And ere the stage had darkened, and the curtain finally fell, he had communicated not a little of their direction and force to the fitfully recurring and disquieting oscillations that disturbed the political equilibrium of the time.

The original position of Simon Fraser on the family genealogical tree was somewhat remote from the main trunk. He was a second son, while his father was a fourth son. But the death-rate had been high amongst the interposing branches. Some died peaceably in bed; some were slain in feud; and others fell on the field of battle. When Simon was called upon to make his *debut* in the world, the intervening lives between the family honours and himself, were but two,—those of a female cousin



once removed, and of his father, now infirm and stricken in years. Virtually, this meant that he was barred but by one life, as his father's succession was equivalent in due course to his own.

The lady whose position was thus so inimical to Simon's worldly prospects, was the only surviving child of his first cousin, the existing lord. She was a scion of the powerful Scottish family of Athol, her mother being a daughter of the Marquess of that name. There was no existing deed of *tailzie* regulating succession to the estates. But in virtue of her parents' ante-nuptial contract, the lady in question was destined as the heiress. This instrument provided that the properties should vest in the heirs male of the marriage, in default of whom, in 'the heirs of the marriage whomsoever.' To nullify this inconvenient settlement, and transfer the rights of succession to his own immediate line, was the diplomatic nut which Simon set himself to crack, on the very threshold of his career.

The intellectual faculties of the reigning lord were dull and contracted. His cousin's wits were uncommonly nimble and comprehensive. Simon became sedulously observant in his attentions to his noble relative. His efforts to please were directed with all the plausibility and tact of which he was so rare a master. His companionship became indispensable. In each conjuncture of circumstance he exercised the functions of guide, philosopher and friend; and in all his lordship's deliberations his counsels were oracular in their authority. In the midst of their intimacy Lord Lovat paid a visit to London and his *fidus Achates* accompanied him. The then prevailing habits of Highland conviviality were not, perhaps, the most effective safeguards of a facile disposition against the allurements of London life. During his stay in the metropolis his lordship largely devoted himself to the bacchanalia of the tavern, and similar enjoyments. And it may safely be conjectured that on whatever other lines his cousin's influence was wont to exert itself, in this particular direction it did not prove a restraining force. His Lordship's health was completely sapped by his excesses; and he died at Perth, in Simon's arms, on his journey homeward.

On this occurrence a testamentary settlement by the deceased was produced, abrogating the provisions of his marriage contract,

and bequeathing his possessions to Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, Simon's father.

This deed, which had only recently been drawn out by a skilled London attorney, was in faultless legal form, and set forth that the instrument annulled had been obtained by pressure, which, acting upon an easy and unsuspecting nature, had amounted practically to fraud. The testator consequently conceived it his duty to set aside its authority, to revert to the ancient family practice of conserving the succession in the male line, and, to this end, nominated as his heirs the Beaufort branch of the Frasers as being next in lineal descent. Simon had played his cards with unquestionable astuteness, and had won the first trick in the game. The result of his diplomacy remained to be seen.

It was not to be expected that the Athol family would quietly acquiesce in this altered position of affairs. They had so long been accustomed to regard the acres of Lovat as much a portion of the family appanage as the haughs of Dunkeld, that the astonishment occasioned by the new situation was only equalled by the resentment it inspired. To find the proprietary rights over a fine Highland estate, and the baronial privileges attaching to it, so deftly filched from their grasp, in the very hour in which they had counted for possession, constituted a challenge to their interest and their pride, which they were not slow to accept. The brother of the widow, and therefore uncle of the heiress, was the Earl of Tullibardine, who, for State services had been called to the peerage in his own right. He was at this time Lord High Commissioner of Scotland, an office which, as justice was then dispensed, gave its occupant special advantages in any personal warfare he might chance to have on hand. Nor did Tullibardine fail to take full advantage of his position. Active legal measures, or at least as active as the circumstances of the time permitted, were at once instituted, to upset the pretensions of the Beauforts. And, meantime, to anticipate the slow process of legal incubation, agents and factors were appointed to levy the revenues of the estate on behalf of the heiress. Simon, on his part, nominally representing his father, but really acting an independent part, was not less active in putting into execution such measures to make good his position, as he thought

it desirable to adopt. His emissaries were numerous and energetic; and backed by the general sentiment of the clan, they invariably beat those of his opponent out of the field. Worst of all in his initial efforts, Tullibardine secured the aid of the Privy Council, whose powers, where they could be brought to operate, were then despotic. Edicts were freely issued in Tullibardine's interest, and would no doubt have proved potent factors in the situation, provided they could have been enforced.

At this juncture, Simon, who was seldom at a loss for an expedient, sought to resolve the difficulties of his position in another direction. He transformed his rôle from that of a usurper into that of a lover, and laid siege, in private, to the affections of the lady with whom he was so violently warring in public. He succeeded so far in his purpose that the susceptible damsel agreed to elope with him. The details of the scheme were confided to a clansman, who undertook their execution. But the intermediary proved unreliable at the critical moment. After conveying the fair runaway a certain distance in the midst of storm and darkness, his courage, or some other essential quality, failed him, and he conducted his fragile charge back to her mother instead of to the rendezvous of her lover.

In their contest for the mails and dues the Athols found themselves severely handicapped in the sex of their representative. The customs of the clans did not necessarily restrict the succession of the chiefship to the operation of a strict heredity. Their mode of life was largely predial. The functions devolving on the head of the community were exacting and unceasing. If from any cause they chanced to be even temporarily suspended, the general interests were felt to suffer. Hence, if any disability unfitted the natural successor of a deceased chieftain competently to discharge the responsibilities of the position, it was not uncommon for the vacant office to be filled by a popular selection from amongst the clan. The Frasers were not inclined to a gynarchical form of government. And heading the opposition to such a *regime* they had a youth in the field of unusual enterprise and parts,—who bade for their allegiance not only in virtue of the blood that ran in his veins, but still more because of the services it was in his power to

render,—services in which all must participate, from the duihne wassel among them of highest account to the humblest servitor in the clan. In the result Simon's personality everywhere prevailed. The influence of the dowager and her daughter was probably of effect within the bounds of their residence, but elsewhere the authority of the Beauforts was supreme.

The Athols were fully alive to this disadvantage, and they began to cast about for a remedy. After some industrious seeking they fell upon a scheme which promised, they fancied, to meet the exigencies of the case. A section of the Frasers, at an early point of their history—probably in the course of their migratory movement to the North (they were originally a southern sept)—had hived off from the main body and established themselves in the north-eastern confines of Aberdeenshire. There they were still located, peacefully tending their flocks or tilling the soil, though not at times altogether unmindful of the more stirring traditions of their race. Their head was Lord Saltoun, a true-blooded clansman, and, like his kinsman of Lovat, a peer of the realm. The project was, to unite the heiress in marriage with Saltoun's son, and present the latter to the Frasers as their consanguineous chief. The prejudices of clanship, it was surmised, would be ingeniously consulted by introducing to the Highlanders, in this relationship, a scion of the common stock, who though born and nurtured outwith their own immediate circle, had nevertheless sprung from the same ancestry and bore the same patronymic as themselves. The proposition was favourably entertained by Lord Saltoun. It did not occur to him, in giving assent to the proposal, that serious objection might be taken in other interested quarters; and that such disapprobation, if provoked, might take a form for which his experience of the milder social conditions to which he was accustomed, would find him wholly unprepared. To complete the negotiations, he set out for Beaufort, otherwise called Castle Dounie, on a visit to the dowager.

Simon, at this time, was principally resident in Edinburgh. He held a commission in the army, and his military duties necessitated his presence with his regiment, which was quartered there. But in view of the development of events, of which he took ample care to keep himself well informed, he concluded that

the time had arrived for giving a more exclusive attention to his family interests. Accordingly he resigned his military appointment, left Edinburgh, and took up his residence with his clan. As Saltoun approached the territory of the Frasers, he was the recipient of a document bearing the signatures of Lord Lovat and twenty of the leading gentlemen of the clan. Simon inspired the paper, though his name did not appear as a signatory. The intimation it conveyed was succinctly and strongly expressed. If his lordship's visit, it announced, was amicably conceived, his presence amongst them would be resented by no one; but if it purposed a disturbance of existing relationships betwixt the chief and his people, it would be regarded as an impudent intrusion; and it behoved him to know that the Highland fashion of dealing with such offences was to cut the offender's throat or blow his brains out wherever he chanced to be found. Though somewhat staggered by the vigour of the rhetoric and the truculence of the threat, Lord Saltoun prosecuted his journey—perhaps with more expedition than he might otherwise have shown—and reached the castle with his head whole and his wind-pipe still intact. But he was not to escape scatheless. After arranging affairs with the dowager, to their mutual satisfaction, he set out on his return journey, accompanied by a considerable train of friends and dependants, and had scarcely emerged from the policies of the castle when he was encountered by Simon, who had been lying in wait for him at the head of his men, and he and all his company were made prisoners. Sending the captured party into confinement, Simon at once proceeded to the castle to reckon with the dowager, who had so eagerly co-operated with Saltoun to thwart his designs. After the elopement adventure, it had been judged prudent to remove the young heiress from the neighbourhood of such an ingenious intriguer as Simon had proved himself to be. The mother was consequently, with the exception of her dependants, the sole occupant of the castle. Towards her, the Master of Lovat extended the same consideration as he bestowed on the chattels of the house. She was subjected to a strict surveillance, and rigorously confined to her apartments. By and bye he began to entertain wilder purposes, and soon proceeded to put them into execu-



tion. In the dead of night, accompanied by a chosen band of retainers, including an accommodating divine and a lusty piper, he burst into the sleeping chamber of the defenceless lady, ejected her maids and, managre her hysterical protestations, forced her through a form of marriage, he himself enacting bridegroom. A few days later he conveyed her to Aigas, an islet in the neighbourhood, formed by the waters of the Beaully. Here she was detained for months, a closely-guarded prisoner, and permitted only the society of her newly-wedded lord to solace her captivity.

The report of these proceedings, on reaching Edinburgh, excited the strongest indignation. Tullibardine, indeed, had twofold cause to harbour the severest resentment. He was the official representative of the law that had been so grossly outraged, and brother of the lady who had been so heinously wronged. But, at the time, it was all but impossible to strike effectively at an evil-doer in the heart of the Highlands. Such action, however, as was practicable and customary was forthwith undertaken. A Royal Herald—Rothesay, Marchmont or Albany—attended by his pursuivant Unicorn, Bute or Carrick,—was deputed to summon the offender to surrender himself at the bar of justice to answer for the misdemeanours laid to his charge. The bearer of the summons was not expected, on such a mission, to approach nearer to the scene of outrage than was deemed compatible with personal safety. In the present instance this valiant functionary halted at Elgin—well without the Highland border-line,—and with blare of trumpet and pomp of pageantry delivered his message from the cross of that ancient town. The northern air, however, did not possess the properties of the ear of Dionysius. The tympanum of the culprit was unaffected by the Elgin bugle-blast. He did not repair to Edinburgh as required; and his conduct remained unreformed.

Following upon this abortive procedure, and further influenced by the successful raiding of Simon and his emissaries on the revenues of the estate, application was made to the Scotch Privy Council for 'Letters of Intercommuning' against the obdurate law-breakers; which issued forthwith. Those ancient instruments of Scottish law were in frequent recourse in the exigencies of the times. They corresponded very closely in character with that

once formidable weapon of ecclesiastical warfare—the bull of excommunication, and were a finished example of a social system attaining to some notoriety in these latter days under the name of boycotting. The subjects of their anathemas were not to be aided by the king's lieges with 'meat, drink or other provisions;' they were not to be afforded, 'whatever their needs, any help comfort or relief;' and their 'cattle, horses and other goods' might be taken possession of by whomsoever it pleased, and, so far as the law was concerned, with impunity. Further, the documents announced a government reward of 2000 merks Scots for the head of the Beauforts—father or son—dead or alive. It does not appear to what point of northerly latitude these punitive missives penetrated; but it is certain that for good and sufficient reasons they did not circulate in the straths of the Aird or the wilds of Stratherick. Later on, still further measures were adopted. A military commission was issued, giving powers of fire and sword. With Fort William as the basis of operations, repeated endeavours were made to bring the mountaineers to account. But, in truth, the Highlanders were more feared by the soldiery than were the soldiers by the Highlandmen. The species of warfare entailed upon them was entirely novel, and unsuited to regular troops. Simon kept his enemies at bay and his head upon his shoulders; and gradually hostilities slackened, until, eventually, the troops appeared only in a desultory and altogether innocuous way within the bounds of the barony.

The old chief, Simon's father, broken by age and infirmity, and equally involved with his son in these embarrassing proceedings, had found a refuge in Dunvegan Castle, a fortalice in the Isle of Skye, the residence of Macleod of Macleod, his brother-in-law. There, while the foregoing events were transpiring, he died, and Simon, assuming the baronial honours, had now attained the position which had so long been the object of his ambition. His assumption of the family dignities, however, brought no cessation to the toils and hazards to which he was exposed. His personal security continued to depend on the exercise of a sleepless vigilance and a prompt dexterity. The unrelaxing character of the efforts required of him became so fraught with

discomfort that in time he began to cast about for some means of relief. We have seen that the influence of the Athol family was at this time paramount in Scotland. It was only natural to suppose that such an influential position would prove no inconsiderable source of jealousy to other rival Houses. This was indeed the case, and it became obvious to the acuteness of Lovat that an adept like himself might play upon this human sentiment to his own substantial advantage. He accordingly addressed himself with all his art to the Duke of Argyll, whom he much impressed by the speciousness of his proposals and the pregnancy of his suggestions. So effectively indeed did he ply the Duke that he entirely enlisted in his behalf the interest of that puissant personage. At his Grace's instigation, and under his protection, he undertook a journey to London. The Duke engaged to smooth his way at court and become patron of his suit for a remission of his offences. But his iniquities were notorious. Progress in the desired direction was slow. Before much had been accomplished, King William took his departure for the Continent, and Lovat had no option but to follow. He continued assiduously to press his suit, and eventually succeeded in obtaining a pardon for all political misdemeanours; but the royal clemency could by no means be induced to extend itself to his civil crimes.

This result left his situation little better than before. His civil offences had practically formed the whole *gravamen* of the bill of indictment against him. In these untoward circumstances he considered the advisability of attempting to purge his record by submitting himself to the jurisdiction of the Court. Accordingly he proceeded to Edinburgh and took steps to bring his case to trial. But he failed to abide the issue. On the very morning, as he informs us in a fragment of autobiography, on which the case was to be called, he learned through a friendly judge that all his colleagues (eight in number) had been bought over by the Athol interest, and that the verdict would be given against him, even should an angel descend from heaven and stand sponsor for his innocence. Even then, he avers, so strong was he in his sense of integrity, that he would have remained to confound his enemies, had not his friends, conspicuous among

whom was his Grace of Argyll, taken it upon them to compel his departure. Constrained by their action he 'mounted his horse and set out, to his own regret as well as the regret of every other friend he had in the world who were not sufficiently acquainted with the corrupt and abandoned character of his judges.' He retraced his steps to the North, and amid the fastnesses of his ancestral domains, revived his companionship with broken men, and his experiences of a lurking and harassed life.

With the development of political events his prospects did not brighten. King William died and Anne ascended the throne. With the new Sovereign, his irreconcilable enemy Tullibardine stood high in favour. The political power of the latter was consequently materially increased, and his family and personal animosities were as relentlessly prosecuted as ever. Lovat could discern nothing before him, near or remote, but the life of the hunted fox that skulks in the covert to save its brush. Considerations of personal comfort, and even of safety, urged him to seek an asylum elsewhere. France was at that time the common resort of the refugee from British shores. Thither Lovat turned his steps, and, in finding a retreat upon its soil, was able, with characteristic ingenuity, to attach another string to his bow than that of merely prudential motives.

The House of Stuart, exiled from the British throne, had also found a home on the Continent, and under the patronage of the French Monarchy, had established the semblance of a regal Court at St. Germain. There, a little band, composed of dethroned royalty and refugee politicians, watched and waited, planned and intrigued, administering the details of a household as if they were the affairs of an empire, cherishing a keen sense of the greatness of the past, and ever turning an alertly observant eye on the potentialities of the future. Lovat had already formed an acquaintanceship with the expatriated family and their advisers. On the occasion of his following King William across the Channel, when pleading for a remission, he had taken an opportunity of paying a stealthy visit to St. Germain and waiting on the Chevalier. At the moment, it was not his cue to make any demonstrative declaration of political faith. His object seems to have been served in acquiring some first-hand knowledge of the *personnel* of

the Jacobite Court. This accomplished, he returned to Loo, to urge afresh his pleas with King William, with the results already mentioned.

His mission to St. Germain's on the present occasion was undertaken with a different purpose. He had no difficulty in gauging the situation and adjusting himself to its requirements. To the acting heads of the Jacobites he presented himself, not as a fugitive from his country, with a price upon his head, but as a voluntary and zealous participator in their aspirations, and as an invaluable coadjutor in their plans. He represented himself as expressly delegated by the Scottish Jacobites to consult and advise with King James and his ministers on dynastic concerns. Nor did he appear empty-handed. He was the bearer of a scheme of operations, devised by himself, and approved, he averred, by the leaders of the cause in Scotland. His plan of campaign may be stated. A body of 5,000 French troops would be detailed to land at a convenient point in the north of Scotland. They would there be joined by from 10,000 to 20,000 hardy Highlanders, who were only waiting their opportunity in French co-operation. The united body would direct its march to the south, the numbers of the Highlanders being continuously augmented by fresh accessions to their ranks. Another French army would in the meantime be landed in the neighbourhood of London, which it would seize and occupy. By the operations of these independent bodies the efforts of the executive government would be effectually paralyzed, and the objects of the enterprise could not fail of being signally realised.

This scheme of Lovat's reflected, it must be admitted, not a little credit on the sagacity of its originator. It contained the first suggestion made, that Scotland might be used as a fulcrum to overturn the existing fabric of English Government. And it is worthy of remark that throughout every subsequent phase of Jacobite activity, this idea supplied the inspiring force, and was that on which, on every occasion, action was based, when its projects came to take form in actual execution.

As French co-operation played so prominent a part in the plan proposed, it was essential that it should receive the assent of the French King. Louis the Grand was invested with so large a



share of the divinity that hedges a king, that few, even of his own subjects, were permitted access to his presence ; and of foreigners, absolutely none. But the genius of Lovat was equal to the task. He not only obtained several audiences of his Majesty, but succeeded in establishing the most cordial relationships between himself and the 'Divine Monarch.' His purpose was lauded, his scheme received unqualified approval, and he was graciously assured that the Government of France would not fail in the part assigned them when their services should be called into requisition. At St. Germain, however, his negotiations had a different result. There he was regarded with something more than suspicion. His antecedents had to some extent discovered themselves, and had inspired dislike as well as distrust. Moreover, it was noted that he carried with him no credentials from the Scottish friends he claimed to represent. His battalions of Highlanders were unvouched for, save by the *ore rotundo* averments of their solitary guarantor. Waiving, however, in the meantime, the personal aspects of the case, the Chevalier's *corps diplomatique* pronounced the scheme too crude, at the present stage, to be proceeded with ; and Lovat was invited to return to Scotland to collect such testimony as would lend to his facts and figures the authoritative force of which they stood so much in need.

With this conclusion, Lovat was greatly dissatisfied, and attributed it to the dissensions prevailing in the cabinet, and more especially to the antipathy which Middleton, the Secretary, had, from the first, contracted towards himself. He had aspired to the position of generalissimo of the invading forces, and the grudge he bore to those whom he considered responsible for his disappointment was keen and enduring.

Although fully conscious of the dangers that must beset him on returning to Britain, Lovat determined to hazard them. He set out accompanied by a single companion and a menial attendant. A fourth individual was also detached in connection with the expedition ; but he travelled apart from Lovat. Middleton was desirous of obtaining precise and trustworthy information as to the doings of his doubtful auxiliary, and despatched, independently, a reliable emissary to keep an eye on his movements.

Lovat landed in the south of England and made his way to the North with all the circumspection proper to an outlaw who had sentence of death hanging over his head. At the town of Northallerton an incident occurred that came near having a tragic issue. A loafing member of the Commission of Peace having got an inkling of some dubious qualities in the character of the strangers, had, it appears, been regaling himself in the kitchen of the hostelry in which the travellers were entertained, and gleaned from the convivial babblings of the valet something of his master's mission. With all due despatch the zealous functionary mustered his myrmidons and surrounded the house. Lovat on learning the position of affairs gave himself up for lost. It was very evident that, if taken, he would receive but short shrift, and he already saw himself, at the end of the briefest possible period permitted by the forms of law, drawn to the place of public execution on a hurdle, and hanged, drawn and quartered. In view of this prospect, he tells us, it seemed to him a wiser plan to sell his life on the spot, and at as dear an exchange as possible. He accordingly took his firearms from their cases, and took up a position commanding the door, with a cocked pistol in either hand and a blunderbuss crammed with bullets lying handy on the table. His fellow-traveller, evidently cast in a less heroic mould, beat a hasty retreat and sought safety in the privacy of an adjoining apartment. But while waiting for the onslaught of his assailants, a more pacific idea took possession of his mind. How much better, he thought, than selling one's life, no matter how dearly, would it be not to part with it at all! When the magistrate appeared, the occupant of the room had abandoned his valorous attitude. The weapons of war were not to be seen. With a genial smile and a cordial air he advanced and gave welcome to the intruder; assured him of his utmost satisfaction in meeting him after so prolonged an interval, as many years had now elapsed since his brother the Duke of Argyll and himself had had the pleasure of meeting him on the neighbouring race-course. The obfuscated justice could only stammer an apology for so uncereemoniously disturbing the privacy of a brother of the Duke of Argyll. The brother of his Grace was easily mollified. The acquaintance of the race-course was handsomely forgiven,

and graciously invited to join him in a bottle. And so prodigal was the hospitality accorded, that the unwary guest succumbed to its spell, and was borne from the scene at a belated hour 'devoid of sense or motion.'

It was scarcely to be expected, in the circumstances, that Lovat's efforts in Scotland, as a Jacobite emissary, would be crowned with any large measure of success. Other than Jacobite interests demanded his first consideration. His own personal safety called for constant regard. He could not move with the freedom his mission required to carry it to a successful issue. The interviews he succeeded in obtaining with the Jacobite leaders were few and inconsequential. In most cases these considered that they had grave reason to doubt the sincerity of the agent, and they were not therefore inclined to be particularly communicative in the matter of their political creed. And it was well for them, perhaps, that they were not. For, directly afterwards, it was discovered that this Jacobite plenipotentiary had opened secret communication with the Government, and was basing his claims to their gratitude on the importance of the information he had it in his power to divulge. The precise motives by which he was actuated are perhaps difficult to determine. They were no doubt as complex as the diverse elements which compounded his character. He was angry with the treatment meted out to him by the Court of St. Germain. He was galled by the reception accorded him by its adherents in Scotland. He had the prospect, in the information he proposed to impart, of showing as an important figure in State affairs. But above all, he had probably arrived at the conclusion that, not with the Jacobites lay the destinies of the British empire for an indefinite time to come, and, with admirable impartiality, he took immediate steps to make friends of the winning side. Considerations of a more exalted kind, probably, did not enter into the calculation. His intelligence was received by the Government's representatives with all the eager attention bestowed on communications bearing on the treasonable practices of the time. But his narrations were liberally seasoned with the disingenuousness of his character, and, in one instance at least, involved the recipient of his confidences

in more disastrous results than the individual he had chosen to denounce.

In a *brochure* of the time, particulars are given of a carefully-laid official conspiracy to entrap into compromising situations the leading Scottish Jacobites of the day, in which 'one, Simon Fraser' is employed as the decoy duck of the plot. The allegations formulated against him are too sweeping in their character to be accepted as absolutely consistent with fact; but it is undoubted that before Lovat had crossed the English border he fulfilled a stealthy assignation with his former patron the Duke of Argyll—a staunch and powerful Whig—with whom he maintained a confidential correspondence during the remainder of his sojourn in Britain. He it was who took the principal part in arranging the interviews with the Duke of Queensberry, then High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. In these interviews Lovat invested his communications with such an interest that Queensberry thought it desirable to send him to London to unbosom himself there. Before going, however, Lovat took the opportunity of dealing what he must have considered an extremely dexterous blow at his enemy Tullibardine, now Marquess of Athol. Athol was a member of the Government, a colleague of Queensberry, and of great influence in the Councils of the Queen. Lovat produced a letter addressed to Athol, signed and sealed by the Chevalier, purporting to be one of a series in a secret correspondence with the exiled family, in which Athol was clandestinely engaged. Queensberry neither doubted the credibility of his informant nor the genuineness of the document. But instead of forwarding the latter at once to the proper quarter, he retained it in his own possession, purposing to use it on a riper occasion. Eventually, knowledge of the writing and the mode of its appearance were conveyed to Athol from an outside source. The action of his colleague was indignantly denounced. In the investigation that followed, it was ascertained that, so far as Athol was concerned, the letter was a fabrication. Lovat had been entrusted with a number of open letters intended for distribution among certain friends in Scotland. As a matter of precaution the letters bore no address. In the case of one of them an address had been adhibited, that of the Marquess of

Athol, in writing intended to be indistinguishable from that of the rest of the letter. But the address upon it was fraudulent, and the perpetrator of the fraud was Lovat. The affair was generally looked upon as a discreditable 'plot;' and Queensberry was so deeply compromised by his connection with it, that he found it necessary to resign.

Lovat, on his arrival in London, had several secret interviews with the Queen's Ministers. He had not much to tell that was of real importance, but he was an adept in the arts of diplomacy, and had little difficulty in impressing those with whom he conferred that his was a powerful individuality, and that it was eminently desirable to enlist the services he was willing to place at their disposal. He was now anxious to cross the Channel again. He was still under the ban of the law, and was far from easy in the various attitudes he was compelled to assume to evade its vigilance. He was supplied with a passport under an assumed name, and took his departure for the Continent, on the understanding that he would acquaint his patrons in London with whatever of interest came under his observation on resuming his Jacobite connections in France.

At St. Germain's he submitted an elaborate report of his recent travels. Its tenor was extremely sanguine and self-eulogistic. His appearance among the clans, he reported, had occasioned the warmest interest; and their enthusiasm for the cause was of the heartiest kind. It was true, he had not been entrusted with many practical tokens of their sympathies, but he had been fully empowered to convey to the exiled prince assurances of unwavering loyalty and devoted service on the part of the most influential of the Highland chiefs. His asseverations, however, failed to produce the confidence they were intended to inspire. Knowing they must come to the surface, he had been compelled to refer to his conferences with Queensberry, and notwithstanding the ingenious interpretations he gave them, it required no unusual powers of penetration to discover what these negotiations meant, and Middleton arrived at a very shrewd opinion on the matter. In due course, too, James Murray, the official spy upon Lovat, arrived from Scotland, bringing with him a fairly accurate chart of his lordship's movements, and a pretty



authentic chronicle of his deeds. His report was also fortified by documentary evidence of a gravely compromising kind. Middleton enclosed the papers to King Louis, to whose Court Lovat had just repaired, accompanied by some trenchant criticism of his own, and suggested that the proper agent for dealing with such treachery was the common hangman, and advised, if hanging were thought too extreme, at least immediate arrest and imprisonment. On learning the opinion which prevailed about him at St. Germain, Lovat addressed himself to Middleton in several rhetorical and voluble epistles. Middleton gave him scant satisfaction; and in the end we find him retiring to his *auberge*, 'determined to interfere no more in the affairs of that ungrateful Court.' In its secluded quiet he seated himself, he continues, 'in a disconsolate posture, and leaning on a table, ruminated on the means of quitting France with honour.'

But, with or without honour, he was destined to remain in France for a good many years to come. What appeared to Middleton and his coadjutors abundant evidence of his perfidy was accumulating on every hand. From the hour he had landed, on his return from England, he had been secretly posturing as the confidential agent of diametrically opposing interests. To the banished prince and his adherents, he was a Jacobite of the Jacobites. To the Whig Party in England and Scotland he was, if not a trusted ally, at least what promised to be a useful agent. At the French Court, too, he had distinguished correspondents, to whom he unburdened his elastic conscience with profuseness and regularity. The effort to combine and focus so many conflicting elements was a task beyond even his dexterity. He was betrayed in various quarters. The representations in regard to his conduct at length became so pressing that Louis was induced to accede to his arrest. This was carried out with a picturesqueness of incident that loses nothing in the description of it supplied by Lovat. While sitting at dinner he was seized by the myrmidons of the law and dragged like a dog from the saloon. At the threshold they made pause for a moment to pillage their victim, and 'stripped him even to the shame of modesty' to ensure that their work should be complete. He was then conducted through the most populous thoroughfares, like a

criminal being led to the gallows, and thrust into a subterranean dungeon, black with an Egyptian darkness and foul with all impurity. This choice habitation had, it seems, from time immemorial been set apart as the residence of coiners and murderers, and a gentleman of the latter class was constrained, it is stated, to give place to him on the present occasion. Here he remained for thirty days, sparingly fed, and with, it may be imagined, few delights to solace his leisure. At the end of this time, with the utmost difficulty, he obtained access to the upper air. Some friends he retained at court had moved in his favour, and though still nominally a prisoner, and under surveillance, he had assigned him a certain latitude of movement and a fair share of individual liberty. He remained, however, under a constant dread of a recurrence of his imprisonment, and on post days was wont fearfully to conceal himself, until a friend had ascertained for him whether the dubious letter-bag contained aught to his hurt.

It looked as if he were now to become a permanent resident on French soil. An outlaw from his own country, and at deadly enmity with every prominent member of the British Government, there seemed small prospect of the future having other fortune in store for him than an alien existence in a foreign land. He himself seems to have settled down into the belief with wonderful facility, and forthwith proceeded, with ready alacrity, to establish his claims to French citizenship. There is some diversity in the accounts of his manner of life during the next few years of his career. Among the vocations which he adopted is said to have been that of a priest, in which his special personal qualifications enabled him particularly to shine. So highly indeed was he esteemed by his ecclesiastical superiors, that had his aims in life continued to point in that direction, he would undoubtedly have attained to a conspicuous eminence in the Church. If, however, he actually entered on the functions of the priesthood, they were eventually abandoned; and he is ultimately found residing in the town of Saumur, in the enjoyment of a pension from the French Exchequer, and living in handsome style.

Some years elapsed without material change in the situation.

But events had meantime transpired elsewhere that were to produce a further change on the current of his fortunes. The Athols had never relaxed in their efforts to secure absolute possession and control of the Lovat domains. The Saltoun design had not been carried into execution. After his initial experiences of the Frasers, the Aberdeenshire Baron concluded that it was highly undesirable to cultivate their acquaintanceship further. Another alliance was projected for the heiress. This scheme was prosecuted under the influences of a kindlier star than had hitherto shone on this lady's matrimonial affairs. She was duly married to Alexander Mackenzie, son of Roderick Mackenzie, laird of Prestonhall and a Senator of the College of Justice. This astute old lawyer lost no time in proceeding to extract what family advantage it was possible to derive from the connection. In his legal researches he unearthed a process of execution existing against the property on account of an unsettled debt contracted by a previous Lord of Lovat. This process he purchased, and instituted proceedings for seizure of the estate on account of non-payment of the debt. At his instigation his daughter-in-law, at the same time, raised an action of Declarator as Baroness Lovat in her own right. As, of course, neither of the actions were defended, decree in both causes was given as craved.

Had Prestonhall proceeded no further, he and his successors might have remained in undisturbed possession of the booty so acquired. The only individual whose interests were involved had long been absent from the country, was possibly dead, and, it might be expected, would soon be forgotten. By the exercise of a judicious procedure, the new head of the clan might have hoped that after a moderate lapse of time he would occupy the position of the old. Prestonhall, however, set much store on his patronymic; and instead of seeking to sink his own name in that of the clan, he resolved to abolish its Fraser appellation and supplant it by that of Mackenzie. Some preliminary steps he took in this direction came to the knowledge of the clansmen and produced extreme exasperation. Meetings were held at which the situation was discussed, and the insult offered to the clan denounced. The absence of their titular chief was deplored, and his fate and fortunes eagerly debated in view of the danger that menaced.

Some vague rumour had recently been heard that he was still alive. It was decided to test its truth by despatching a trusty clansman on a personal search. The missing chief might be traced and induced to return. His aid, it was felt, would be invaluable in meeting the crisis that threatened their affairs. A Major Fraser, a shrewd and courageous man, was the individual fixed on to undertake the task. The Major carried with him but little of the paraphernalia of modern travel. He bore on his person the familiar accoutrements of the Highlander, to which having superadded a scanty supply of coarse oatmeal he started on foot the following morning, on his indefinite and perilous search.

Throughout his travels, the Major comported himself like a brave and resourceful man. After months of wanderings, difficulties, and varied adventure, he astonished Lovat one day by walking into his presence. Lovat, it may be remarked, had never wholly broken off his correspondence with certain of the leading English Whigs. He had on more than one occasion, and in one notable instance to his own confusion, managed to inform his Whig connections of projected Jacobite action. Building upon this, he had for some time back been importuning these gentlemen to procure the royal pardon for his old offences. The Major's story quickened his desire to obtain it; and he determined to risk his person in London, in the hope that his presence there might facilitate an arrangement. Accordingly he quietly slipped his moorings on French soil, and after some delicate manœuvring on land and imminent danger from the elements in crossing the Channel, arrived in London in November 1714, accompanied by the Major.

Necessarily his movements in London were of the stealthiest kind, but not sufficiently so to conceal them from the knowledge of his old and implacable enemy Athol, who succeeded in obtaining his arrest. He was kept for some little time in 'close prison' with, he tells us 'naked bayonets at his breast.' But the times were propitious to his fortunes. The first Jacobite rising had just declared itself. Government was casting about for assistance, and was ready to accept it from whatever quarter it was offered. Lovat was the head of a Highland clan, with whom,

it was presumed, his influence would be all-powerful. His friends had little difficulty in procuring his liberation and a probationary suspension of legal hostilities. Relieved to this extent, he started for the Highlands in the companionship of the laird of Culloden, who had, in the negotiations just concluded, prominently interested himself in his behalf. The journey, however, was not accomplished without perturbing incident. At Edinburgh he was again placed under arrest, until released by the intervention of the friendly Lord Provost. He embarked at Leith for Inverness, but had scarcely cleared the Forth when the vessel in which he sailed was chased, and all but captured, by a flotilla of rebel craft. The skipper of their boat gave his passengers some trouble and landed them at Aberdeen instead of the more northerly port. Lovat and his friends had, in consequence, to run the gauntlet through the north-easterly shires, which, at the time, were swarming with the enemy. When Culloden was at length reached, Inverness, in the immediate neighbourhood, was found to be in the hands of the rebels. Preparations were in progress, however, on the part of the royalists, to seize it for the Government. Lovat immediately identified himself with the design. He despatched the Major to Stratherick to announce his home-coming and raise a contingent of his men. Within four and twenty hours Lovat was at the head of two hundred of his clansmen, and with these he played an active part in the successful seizure of the Highland capital. Many years subsequently, amid the closing scenes of his life, he gave the following account of the exploit:—

‘When I found it impossible for the Earl of Islay to come with his men from Argyllshire, I resolved to distinguish myself even though by a desperate stroke. I had gathered together two hundred men at Stratherick and with these I marched to Inverness and invested it. Sir John Mackenzie, the then governor, had 1000 men in the town; so I found there was nothing for it but boldness. I sent a message which, indeed, looked like a French gasconade, that I would blow him and his garrison and the castle and the strong steeple into the air, if he did not surrender to me before 10 o'clock the next day, though, God knows! I had not two pounds of powder to do it with: and at



the same time I sent a party of men, in which was a pretty gentleman of skill, one Captain Ross, the laird's brother. Whether Sir John Mackenzie heard this or not, I can't tell; but he enquired of Ross, if I was fully resolved to attack the town. He told him positively that I was. Says he, if Simon be there he is a desperate fellow; I believe I must leave the town to him. And, accordingly, he ran off that night with all his men.'

It was a characteristic of our hero that when he undertook to narrate any circumstance in which he had borne a part, he took care to depict himself as its presiding genius—the terrible Jove who forged and hurled the thunderbolts. We learn from other sources that Lovat and his men by no means enacted the exclusive part his lordship assigns them. There was an aggregate force of some 1300 men engaged in the operations against the town. Nor were these altogether bloodless. They resulted in several skirmishes, in one of which the most notable victim was a younger brother of the neighbouring proprietor of Kilravock. But Lovat's services were unquestionable. Had he ranged himself with the rebels, Inverness could not have been taken; and its capture was timeously accomplished. In the following week was fought the battle of Shirreffmuir. Its indecisive result forbade the Chevalier to advance; and the fall of Inverness, and its results, prevented a rally in the rear. The nascent rebellion was speedily crushed, and the danger, for the time, to the House of Hanover, averted.

The direct result to Lovat was an absolute wiping out of the record existing against him. Early in the following year he obtained the formal remission of all his outstanding misdemeanors, and, under the royal sign manual, was free to go about his worldly avocations, if not without reproach, at least without fear. Athol had at length ceased from troubling and the victim of his relentless enmity was at rest. But there was also another direction in which the course of affairs had issued fortunately for his interests. Young Mackenzie, who had married the heiress, and who, for years, had been endeavouring to occupy the position of the fugitive chief, had linked his fortunes, in the recent rising, with those of the Chevalier, and had been involved in the luckless result. He fled the country and was attainted, and Lovat was vested in

the title and estates. But the law on the point provided that, as Mackenzie's son and heir (who was a mere child) had taken no overt part in the rebellion, and would succeed to his natural rights on the death of his father, the vestiture in the person of Lovat would only hold good during the life-time of the attainted peer. This was not a prospect that Lovat could relish. Having obtained possession, he determined, if legal ingenuity could accomplish it, to retain it. To this end he put into operation every form of law his legal counsellors could devise. He raised actions for recall of the adverse decrees, given in absence, when precluded by circumstances from entering defence. The whole range of questions affecting title and territory were raised and reviewed from the very genesis of their existence, and occupied the laborious attention of the law courts for a lengthy succession of years. The shapes they assumed were protean : under the halting system of jurisprudence existing at the time the rate of progress was of the slowest. But at length he emerged, triumphant at every point. In 1730 the court decerned in his favour in respect of the title ; and a year or two later he concluded an arrangement with the heir of the Mackenzies, which left him, free and unfettered, in possession of the estates.

One personality attracts attention in connection with these litigious proceedings, to which it may be permitted to refer. Duncan Forbes, a younger member of the Culloden family, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, and famous for the influence he exerted on the public issues of the time, was, in these earlier years, an un-noted advocate at the Scottish Bar. Lovat and he were scions of neighbouring families, familiarly acquainted with each other ; and it was natural that professional services should be rendered on the one hand when any demand existed for them on the other. Forbes, throughout, was Lovat's wisest and trustiest counsel ; and the success which eventually attended his suits was owing in no small measure to the acumen with which the advocate supported his brief, and the devotion with which he pursued it. The intimacy of the friends had been fostered by political occurrences. They had been associated in the siege and capture of Inverness. The military spirit then engendered continued to colour their mutual relationships during

their subsequent lives. Lovat delighted to address himself, with a playful humorousness, to 'My dear General,' while content himself to assume the honours of a much lowlier grade. Forbes's fine personal qualities were abundantly obvious to Lovat. He probably would not have cultivated him so sedulously had he not convinced himself that such a policy would be much to his advantage. And it would have been more to his advantage still, had he confided to Forbes the direction of his affairs to the end. The counsels of commiserating friendship were not wanting in later and more troublous times. But the voice of warning was unregarded. In spite of reproof, and entreaty, and expostulation, the wayward traveller chose to tread his own divergent path, and expiated his choice in the retributory doom in which his days so darkly closed.

For several years after his re-instatement in his titular and territorial dignities, the active mind of Lovat found full employment in solving the various pressing problems peculiar to his situation. The whole energies of his mind were brought into operation in giving shape and substance to the uncertain position he occupied and which it was now the object of his life to consolidate. As we have seen, the legal aspect of his affairs was slowly developing itself in the courts of law; and nothing was discernible in his demeanour, as chief of the clan or subject of the realm, which tended to check the solidifying process. Nor was the probity of his demeanour barren of result. He was appointed sheriff of his shire. He was presented with the command of an Independent Company, *i.e.*, a body of Highlanders raised by the Crown for local service, and which, it may be remarked, constituted the genesis of the Highland regiments in the British service. So diligently and aptly did he address himself to the situation that he even obtained the most flattering recognition in the highest quarters, and was not a infrequent visitor at Court. As a signal mark of the royal complaisance, King George did him the honour of standing as god-father to one of his children.

But these conditions of credit and prosperity did not suffice for his vaulting ambition. Scarcely did he feel himself settling firmly in the saddle, when he essayed to tilt for higher prizes. He conceived himself born to loftier destinies than directing the evolutions of a handful of Highlanders and exercising the func-

tions of a local squire. Far-reaching conceptions began to shape themselves in his creative brain. His imagination titillated itself by contemplating a lordly domination from Pentland to Spey, and the transformation of his baronial honours into the style and title of a dukedom. He was shrewd enough to guess that these aspirations had little prospect of realisation under the existing *regime*; he therefore began to consider whether his old acquaintances at St. Germain's might not be utilized for the purpose. He was now in a position to play the diplomatist to some effect. His credentials were of a different order from those he had carried to that Court in earlier times. New men and new influences were at work, and time had, to a great extent, taken the edge from the asperities of the past. Communication was opened and a reconciliation effected; and the ink had scarce had time to dry that recorded the absolution pronounced at St. James's, ere he was eager in clandestine support of the machinations in progress at St. Germain's. In 1719 he was mixed up with the Jacobite proceedings, which, under Spanish auspices, took form in a landing of troops in Scotland, and culminated in their capture at Glenshiel. A letter of his, bearing evidence of his privity to the attempt, was put into the hands of the Government, and it required a journey to London, and all his assurance and finesse, to clear himself. His narrow escape on this occasion caused him to adopt the most watchful precautions for the future. So effectually did he conceal his operations that few or none of them have ever come to the surface; but that, for the next five and twenty years, he was a main instrument in directing the course of Scottish Jacobite policy, abundant evidence exists. Though nothing overt was known he brought himself by degrees under suspicion, and the result was his experience of a gradually denuding process in the matter of his official preferments. He was summarily removed from the sheriffship. His captaincy was taken from him and given to another. He ceased to be treated by the authorities with the consideration he formerly enjoyed. No reason was vouchsafed him for this procedure. Whatever he suspected, he himself represented it as wanton insult on the part of the Government. And it had the effect on his mind of adding the incentives of revenge to the promptings of ambition.

His mode of life during this period was altogether in harmony with the traditions of the time. His principal residence was Castle Dounie, a circularly-built tower-like structure, possessing walls of enormous thickness, pierced here and there by diminutive openings, through which slender bars of light struggled into the interior. The basement chambers were used as dungeons, while piled atop, stratum on stratum, rose the cage-like accommodation set apart for the chief and his family, his guests and retainers. Here the chieftain lived in barbaric pomp, exercising an absolutism over the property and lives of his vassals which there was none to challenge. The supplies for the day were requisitioned each morning from the surrounding districts, and how liberally soever the commissariat was furnished, usually with the conclusion of the evening meal not a scrap remained. All the household—master and menial, from the highest in place to the humblest helot—messed at a common board, his position at table and character of fare being determined by the quality of the banqueter. Mirth and revelry, and, not infrequently, excesses of a more flagrant kind, were concomitants of the feast; and when the hospitalities were exhausted the company dispersed, till a new day brought a recurrence of the festive scenes that had characterised its predecessor.

The advent of 1745 found the situation without apparent change. But, to not a few, it was a year pregnant with momentous issues. The time had arrived when the House of Stuart was to undertake a final effort to retrieve its fallen fortunes. Prince Charles Edward, who now represented the dynasty, had just risen into manhood. He had been sedulously schooled in the history of his family traditions, and was deeply imbued with a sense of his family wrongs. His natural disposition, no less than his youthful training, had disposed him to the work which fate had reserved to his hand. The character of the Stuarts, as exemplified in their more recent representatives, had not been such as to shed a lustre on misfortune, but the latest scion of the House was endowed with a temperament cast in another mould. There ran in his veins a dash of more vehement blood than the paternal fount supplied. His grandfather, on the mother's side, was John Sobieski, the heroic King of Poland. The grandson, from his earliest years, had brooded over the humiliations of his



race; and even in his childhood is stated to have formed the resolution that, whatever fortune should betide, it would be the earliest effort of his manhood to re-instate his line on the pedestal from which it had fallen. Substantial French assistance had always been an integral factor in Jacobite schemes of British invasion. With the lapse of years, however, the hope of aid from France had grown steadily less. But, with or without it, the intrepid adventurer resolved to dare the task. In June 1745, accompanied by a retinue of eight persons he sailed for Scotland, and on the 25th of the following month erected his standard in a wild and solitary spot in the western district of Inverness-shire.

The landing of the Prince without arms or men was a sore discouragement to his adherents. The boldest among them quailed in face of the responsibility which his purpose involved. It had never been contemplated to enter on the adventure so feebly equipped and in so haphazard a way. The stakes to be played for were heavy, and the dice were felt to be heavily weighted against them. If Charles had been less determined in his resolution, he would have returned to France without advancing a step on Scottish soil. But he had come with a settled purpose, and he meant to carry it out. He appealed to the patriotism of his desponding sympathisers, to their courage, to the affection they entertained for his father and himself; and finally prevailed on the hesitating Highlanders to cross the Rubicon with him, and ally their fortunes with his own.

But, perhaps, of all those to whom the intelligence of the Prince's meagre landing had brought doubt and alarm, the most disturbed in mind was Lovat. All his hopes had been centred in the success of such an enterprise. He had anxiously looked forward to it for a length of years. He had charged it with the consideration for all his intrigues. He had contemplated it as the consummation of his plans. And now that the crusade was actually afoot, it inspired him with the deepest distrust, that, save a few undisciplined Highlandmen, there was none to strike a blow in its name or to flatter it with the promise of success. He did not, however, summarily reject all possibility of a favourable issue. It remained to be seen what amount of support the Prince could rally to his cause. The movement taking birth in

the vale of Glenfinnan might swell into national proportions, and succeed, in despite of untoward appearances, in hurling the Guelph from his throne. These considerations dictated his policy. He revived the game, not unfamiliar to his history, of consulting the susceptibilities of the opposing parties and playing up, in true dramatic style, to the requirements of each. To the Government he postured as the main prop of their authority in the Highlands; while to the Prince his protestations of loyalty and devotion were iterated with a fervour which partisanship could not surpass. So soon as the Government became aware of the events in progress, the Lord Advocate of the day communicated with Lovat, reminding him of his services in 1715, and bespeaking a repetition of them in the present crisis. Lovat replied, under date of 24th August, 1745:—

‘I received the honour of your Lordship’s most obliging and kind letter, for which I give your lordship a thousand thanks. Your lordship judges right when you believe that no hardship or ill-usage that I meet’ (referring to the appointments of which he had been stripped) ‘can alter or diminish my zeal and attachment for his Majesty’s Person and Government. I am as ready this day, as far as I am able, as I was in the year 1715, when I had the good fortune to serve the King in suppressing that great Rebellion more than any one of my rank in the Island of Britain. . . . Although I am entirely infirm myself these three or four months past, yet I have very pretty gentlemen of my family that will head my clan whenever I bid them for the King’s service. . . . I hear that mad unaccountable gentleman the pretended Prince of Wales has set up a standard at a place called Glenfinnan, Monday last. I hear of none that have joined him yet but the Camerons and Macdonalds. . . .’

From his reference to ‘that mad unaccountable gentleman the Pretended Prince of Wales,’ the Lord Advocate would doubtless divine that his correspondent entertained the most moderate opinion of the pretensions and prospects of that adventurous youth; and that he regarded his fortunes so indifferently that he was indebted to common hearsay alone for such knowledge of his affairs as he chanced to possess. And, yet, the Prince and himself had already been in communication and exchanged the most cordial greetings. And in a letter to Lochiel, a prime confidante of the Prince, we learn how he expressed himself in respect of the cause:—

‘Since you are justly the Royal Prince’s great favourite, I hope you will be kind enough, dear Cousin, as to make my court to his Royal Highness, for although it is my misfortune not to be able to follow him wherever he goes (which would be the delight and honour of my life) you can freely assure his Royal Highness that he has not a more faithful and zealous partisan in Scotland ; and though I am not able to mount a-horseback or travel a-foot, yet I have done his Royal Highness more service than any one of my rank in Britain ; for I keep life and spirits in his affairs more than any one in the North ; and though the President ’ (Forbes) ‘ tells me plainly I have forfeit life and fortune, and that my person is not safe in this house, yet I am resolved to live and dye with courage and resolution in my King and Royal Prince’s service ; but no death they can invent can lessen my zeal or fright me from my duty.’

It will be admitted that these sentiments were sufficiently thorough-going in their character, and breathed in every syllable an uncompromising devotion to his ‘royal Prince.’ But his desire to stand well with both parties found a reflex in his conduct, which occasioned anxious alarm to those who dreaded a lapse in his loyalty. Lord President Forbes in particular was greatly solicitous of his welfare and observant of his demeanour. He kept himself in constant communication with his uncertain correspondent, and pressed his sagacious counsels on his vacillating mind. Lovat replied with bold asseverations of his unimpeachable loyalty. To one of the Lord President’s communications, advertising to certain current rumours affecting his loyal behaviour, Lovat responded :—

‘There have been several villainous, malicious, and ridiculous reports that vexed me very much ; but as there was nothing ever out of hell more false, I despise them and the scoundrels that invented them ; and since the whole trade business and conversation of many in Inverness is to invent and tell lies, I hope your Lordship will believe no ill or mean thing of me till you have a real and infallible proof of it, as I am resolved that this shall be my conduct towards your Lordship.’

The Jacobite campaign was opened and proceeded apace ; but the Frasers did not take the field. Lovat was urged to action from both sides. To the Government his plea, in excuse, was a lack of arms ; while to the Prince his main explanation lay in his age and infirmities, and the difficulty of moving his men unaccompanied by their Chief. In the course of a few weeks the battle of Prestonpans seemed to supply the cue for which Lovat had

been waiting. The story of this conflict lost nothing of its prestige in its recital at Castle Dounie. The result of the fight, as there portrayed, assumed the proportions of a final triumph. Lovat hailed the intelligence with the liveliest demonstrations of satisfaction. He drank hilariously to the success of the Prince, and confusion to the White Horse of Hanover. The incertitude which had hitherto characterised his conduct was now largely abandoned. But though henceforth he practised a more overt policy, it was still pursued under such precautionary restrictions as he promised himself would hold him scatheless whatever should ensue. The scheme he fell upon was to despatch the Frasers to the front, and lay the onus of the act exclusively on his son. While this boy (a lad of nineteen years of age) should be compulsorily detailed to make cause with the rebels, the crafty sire would remain at home, asseverating his loyalty with unstinted volubility, and execrating the wilfulness of a rebellious son who spurned control and scouted every parental monition though urged even with supplication and tears. The youthful Master had no predilection for the duty assigned him. It was afterwards amply proven that it was only on application of the utmost pressure he could be induced to undertake it. And the position and purpose of his father may be educed from his letters to those whom he considered it proper to address on the subject. To Murray of Broughton, the Prince's Secretary, he wrote lamenting his own physical inability to take the field, but stating, in proof of his zeal, his resolution to send 'for the service of the Prince, my eldest son, the hope of my family, the darling of my life.' And in a letter to Lochiel he thus expresses himself :—

'I send my eldest son, who is the great Hopes of my Family and the Darling of my Life and Soul, to venture his life and blood in the brave Royal Prince's service ; and he has all the gentlemen of the clan with him except a few old gentlemen like myself who are not able to travell.'

Some further delay supervened, but, eventually, the Frasers were despatched on their mission, and in contrast to the sentiments to which Lovat gave expression on the one side, we have, in the following communication to the Lord President, his violent lamentations on the other :—

'I have had many proofs of your Lordship's sincere friendship for my person and family; but there was never a period of my life that made me so much the object of compassion as I am in writing this letter. My very enemies, if they knew the insupportable grief of my soul this morning, must sympathize with a man so disconsolate and void of comfort. I dare not descend to particulars. My son has left under silence last night, contrary to my advice, contrary to my expectation and to my earnest request; and the consequences of his doing so are terrible beyond expression; though I declare I could not have done more to save my own life and the lives of my clan, as well as the estate of Lovat, than I have done by smooth and rough usage to detain him at home. This is a subject so melancholy I can neither write nor talk upon it, and therefore I have sent the bearer to make a faithful report of the uprightness of my conduct in this matter. I pray to God your Lordship may meet with no event in life so disastrous and afflicting as this is to me.'

The indignant tone in which, even in its later stages, he continued to repudiate all connection with the rising, may be gleaned in a letter to the Earl of Loudon, the military commandant of the district. He wrote:—

'It is true there are some Rascalls . . . who deserve the worst treatment for their misconduct; but I hope you will never think misfortune a sufficient reason for distressing the rest, much less to fix any load of blame on me, who had no more accession to their faults than the child unborn. . . . I know your Lordship has too much penetration and knowledge to be blinded by any man. I hope you believe I am neither fool nor knave enough to attempt it. No, my lord; my intentions are honest and upright towards all mankind; and it is my misfortune and not my fault if theirs are not so in regard to me; so I beg your Lordship may not give ear to those wicked insinuations against me.'

The violence of Lovat's protestations, however, did not allay the disquietude occasioned by his acts. He was put under arrest and conveyed to Inverness. But his detention appears to have been more a precautionary than a punitive measure. He was lodged in a private house and laxly guarded. After a short confinement he eluded the watchfulness of his guards and escaped by a back entrance while the observant sentinels were diligently doing duty in front.

So long a time had elapsed before Lovat could decide to take part with the Prince that the fortunes of the latter were rapidly waning ere the Frasers appeared on the scene. Young Lovat and his men had reached the neighbourhood of Perth when they



encountered the Highland army in full retreat, making their way to their native north. They were no longer the aggressive force, fired with enthusiasm and buoyant with hope, that a few months before, seemed to others than Lovat, predestined to annihilate opposition and alter the destinies of an empire. They were now a straggling and dispirited band, without courage and without resource, whose sole intent was to escape as fast and as far as possible from the pursuer who followed on their track. Some adverse intelligence had already reached Castle Dounie. On receiving it, Lovat dispatched a hasty order for the recall of his son. But the Master returned a manly reply. He declined, he said, to lay himself open to the imputation of deserting a cause he had espoused, when it most needed his aid. Whatever they should be, he would stand by its fortunes and follow them to the last.

In proportion as the retreating Highlanders approached his vicinity, the mind of Lovat became more perturbed. He was, in truth, face to face with the gravest situation. Notwithstanding the adoption of so many precautionary devices, he felt how desperate his chances were in the event of the worst occurring. But he did not necessarily anticipate the worst. He felt himself, indeed, to be fully committed. It was impossible to retrace the steps he had taken. But, amid the despondency around him, the high spirit of the old man did not quail. He had cherished with such fondness the dream of success that it clung to his imagination still. He pressed, by his messengers, on the Prince and his co-adjutors a bold and resolute policy. He had unbounded faith in his Highlanders, and in their capacity for sustaining the most precarious struggle on the vantage ground of their native wilds. Had his body been as robust and active as his mind was alert and vigorous, the catastrophe of Culloden might have been indefinitely deferred. But there was not in the councils of Prince Charles Edward, a mind capable of grasping the situation and responding to its requirements. The inevitable doom was speedily accomplished. In a few short weeks, amid the butcheries of Cumberland, the flickering light went out, that, for a space, had glowed so redly athwart the abiding gloom that was the heritage of the Stuart race.

Even in such an hour of extremity the fortitude of Lovat did not forsake him. His residence lay in the track of the Prince, fleeing from the fatal field. For a few hours he received the shelter of its roof. In those untoward circumstances, Lovat had his first and last interview with the unsceptred King, on whose behalf he had contrived so cunningly, and for whom he was destined to suffer so much. It is stated that the restless energies of Lovat were as ardent as ever, but struck no corresponding chord in the breast of the Prince. To the eager propositions of his monitor, the desponding fugitive turned a deaf ear. Impetuous by his impassibility, Lovat railed at him roundly, and pointed him to the great example of his ancestor, the Bruce, in similar circumstances of darkness and defeat. But, so far as Prince Charles Edward was concerned, the venture had closed. A snatch of food, and an hour of rest, and he hid him to the wilderness again; while his enfeebled and disenchanted host was borne away to seek a precarious concealment amid the most inhospitable recesses of his domains.

The sequel to these events is soon told. Lovat found refuge in one of the rocky caverns in which these Highland regions abound. For the time, his life was the sport of every variety of anxiety and hardship. A few tufts of heather formed the only separation between his paralysed limbs and the dank floor of the dripping cave: his only sustenance was meal and water. After the lapse of a few weeks he was discovered and captured by a military party who were scouring the neighbourhood for rebels. Sent to London for trial, he travelled thither by easy stages, and on his arrival was lodged in the Tower. After a protracted delay, which he himself, with characteristic aptitude, took every available means of extending, he was impeached for high treason at the bar of the House of Lords. The trial occupied five days. On its completion he was unanimously found guilty, and sentenced to death with all the variety of barbaric detail common to the crime and the time. The principal witness against him was John Murray of Broughton, who had been Prince Charles Edward's secretary. This unhappy man, to save his own dishonoured life, had turned king's evidence against his old colleagues and friends. He produced Lovat's confidential correspondence with his maste

and himself; and these letters, needless to say, were of so incriminatory a character, that, alone, they would have sufficed to procure a verdict for the Crown.

During the trial Lovat bore himself with spirit and dignity. In those days the State prisoner had to conduct his own defence, being only permitted the aid of counsel in disentangling points of law. Lovat followed the windings of the case with conspicuous shrewdness, and addressed his judges with eloquence and force. His arts and efforts were unavailing. But his equanimity remained undisturbed. He received sentence with entire serenity, and bade the noble court farewell with a jocosé reference to the improbability of all of them ever meeting in the same place again. In the interval that elapsed between the sentence and its execution, the buoyancy of his disposition was never more apparent, even in his most auspicious hours. His geniality and wit were the marvel of his attendants, and flowed unrestrained to the last. He was assisted to the scaffold with a smile on his cheek and a pleasantry on his lip. And when the headsman's gruesome work was done, it was the verdict of all, that throughout the range of changing scene in which this remarkable man had borne a part, in none had he appeared to braver advantage than in the last.

WM. DONALDSON.

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#### ART. V.—THE ORIGIN OF THE MEDIEVAL BELIEF IN WITCHCRAFT.

NO one, I suppose, has ever doubted that the belief in witchcraft still exists, in a feeble and sporadic way, among the peasantry of every country in Europe; but it may be news to some of us that its traces linger in the calling most directly interested in its entire extirpation. Two items of news, however, which have lately gone the round of the London Press, give some excuse for supposing that this may be the case. During the last week of November, the report appeared of a trial for slander in Bavaria, at which a Catholic priest was fined a small sum for asserting that a boy (over whom he had

performed the ceremony of exorcism) had been bewitched by a Protestant widow residing in the same town; and this was followed a few days later by a letter from an Anglican missionary bishop, reiterating a statement recently made by him to the effect that 'the great cause of cruelty and crime' among the natives to whom he was sent, was the fear of witchcraft. The letter concludes with the opinion of the writer, that 'How far witchcraft is a reality in particular cases it is difficult to say.'

First of all, let me hasten to declare, that if the belief in witchcraft thus avowed, with more or less distinctness, by both the Bavarian priest and the English bishop, were in any way a matter of faith in the Churches to which they are doubtless respectively an honour, I should be extremely sorry to meddle with it. And it is only because I believe that their views on this subject would be stoutly repudiated by the vast majority of their co-religionists, that I venture to quote them here as instances of a curious survival.

In proof of this, it may be as well to call one or two witnesses into court. Witchcraft, as I understand it, is the art whereby an evil-disposed person is supposed to perform some act outside the ordinary laws of nature by the help of an evil spirit. For this pretended crime, thousands of innocent persons, during the Middle Ages, suffered a cruel death; and down to comparative recent times it would have been considered, by Catholic and Protestant alike, a grave impiety to doubt its existence. Yet both Catholic and Protestant have now seen the folly of such a belief. In Migne's vast *Encyclopédie Théologique*, the mere sight of which filled Matthew Arnold with such awe, we find it laid down that: 'The facts drawn from Holy Scripture, such as the illusions wrought by Pharaoh's magicians, the Pythoness of Endor, the husbands of Sara, Raguel's daughter who were slain by the demon, the plagues sent upon holy Job by that infernal spirit, the possessions mentioned in the Gospel, and the like, in no way prove that there has ever been a real compact between the Spirit of Darkness and those who have had recourse to him, or that he has been able to act in accordance with the will of the latter.

On the contrary, Holy Scripture both implies and formally teaches, that the demon can only act by virtue of an express permission from God. It is then, in the power of no man to traffic as he pleases with the Enemy of Mankind.\* I cannot, indeed, find so distinct a pronouncement in any book put forward with the authority of the Church of England—probably because this Church has a cleaner record than most in the matter of witchcraft—but the sect which perhaps most nearly approaches her in point of doctrine seems to hold very nearly the Catholic position. ‘The Bible gives no countenance to the belief in witchcraft,’ says the *Congregational Lecture* for 1843,† and this is amplified by the statement that ‘One of the most lamentable facts connected with the delusions, cruelties, and wickedness of the art is, that an incorrect translation, and a misapprehension of the import of some texts have been rendered subservient to a belief in it, and to the vindication of the practices to which it has led.’ In explanation of this last remark, I may add that the Hebrew word which is translated ‘witch’ in the English version is rendered in the Septuagint by *φαρμακός*, and is generally admitted to mean no more than a compounder of potions or philtres, with possibly some implied meaning of poisoning. It is, therefore, I hope, fair to assume that if any person at the present day chooses to cherish a belief in the possibility of witchcraft, he must do without the support of any Christian Church or important sect.

To come now to the main question:—How came the belief in question at any time to meet with general acceptance among civilised peoples? And I say civilised, because all modern enquirers are agreed that witchcraft, in the words of Professor Tyler, ‘forms part and parcel of savage life.’‡ As Sir John Lubbock puts it, ‘The savage is almost universally a believer in witchcraft,’§ which, as he elsewhere mentions, is the outcome of a stage of development ‘through which almost

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\* *Dict. de Théologie Dogmatique*, t. III., pp. 509, 510.

† *The Existence of Evil Spirits proved*. London, 1853, p. 135.

‡ *Primitive Culture*. London, 1891. Vol. I., p. 138.

§ *Prehistoric Times*. London, 1890. p. 580.



every race of men is passing or has passed.\* But all the nations of Europe as they existed during the centuries immediately succeeding the Reformation, had long since emerged from the stages of development which can by any stretch of language be described as savage: and yet we know that the belief in witchcraft, of which the two cases quoted above are but the surviving shreds, was at that period as universal among them as among any tribe of savages which has yet been discovered. Whence, then, did they derive it?

Here it may occur to some that the belief may in itself be but a 'throwback' or 'sport' to the modes of thought current among savage and primitive peoples. I should be the last to deny that such a reversion is possible; for the number of original ideas extant is remarkably small, and in the mental as in the physical world, most of the peculiarities of the existing types can be traced back to a more or less remote ancestor. But a moment's consideration will show that the Mediæval notions concerning witchcraft cannot possibly be a reversion to the ideas which underlie the witchcraft of savages. For it is of the very nature of a reversion to be transitory and evanescent, while the belief in question flourished with unchecked vitality in Europe from the time of Horace's *Canidia* and Apuleius' *Golden Ass* down to the Bull of Innocent VIII. A reversion that can keep its type for fourteen centuries may fairly claim to be considered a regular species.

Nor is the theory that the belief arose from the construction placed on certain texts in the Bible a whit more tenable. Apart from all questions of exegesis, it can be shown that the pretended art was extensively practised by nations who had attained a high state of civilization thousands of years before the earliest date ever assigned for the reduction of the Scriptures to writing. To say then that the Bible produced the belief is to assert that the effect is earlier than the cause.

There remains a theory which involves no manifest absurdity, and fully accords with all the known facts of the case, namely:—that the witch-creed of the Middle Ages had its

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\* *Origin of Civilization.* London, 1889. p. 500.

roots in the religion of the Asiatic race who first received civilisation, and that it made its appearance in Europe soon after the conquests of Alexander the Great. This is the view held by Orientalists, and particularly by that section of them who call themselves by the cumbrous title of students of the history of religions; but the documents (using the word in its widest sense) on which it is based, have for the most part only come to light during the last fifty years. As they are a good deal out of the way of knowledge of the general public, a summary of the tale they tell may here be of interest.\*

Our story must begin with a race who inhabited Mesopotamia—the land between-the-rivers,—at least four thousand years before the Christian era. They have been called by several names, of which that of Accadian is most generally used by modern writers. Their language presents such affinities with those of the Ural-Altaic family (sometimes called the Turanian) of which the Lapp, Finn, Hungarian, and Turkish are the modern examples, that we are, perhaps, justified in assuming that it was derived from the same source. Beyond this, we know so little of their physical type that there is even a doubt whether they were white or black. Of their civilization, however, there can be no doubt. Other nations—our own, for instance—can be traced back to a stage not far advanced

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\* I cannot do more than refer to the main sources of the following sketch. Down to the time of Alexander, Francois Lenormant's *Chaldaean Magic*, (Eng. ed. 1877), and the same author's *Hist. de l'Orient*, (Paris, 1881 to 1887, continuation by M. E. Babelon) with Maspero's *Hist. de l'Orient* (Paris, 1886) and Prof. Sayce's *Ancient Empires of the East* (London, 1884) and *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, are almost sufficient. For the early Christian centuries, we have to rely on the ordinary classical and patristic writers. Mr. Lee's *Hist. of the Inquisition* (New York, 1888) is an excellent guide for the sorcery of the Middle Ages, though for the Manichaeans of Languedoc, Schmidt's *Hist. et Doct. de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigeois* (Paris, 1849) is better. But most of the details in the text have been filled in from the publications of learned bodies like the *Society of Biblical Archaeology* in England, and the *Académie des Inscriptions* in France. Prof. Revillout, whose facilities for a knowledge of the first three centuries are absolutely unrivalled, has never, I believe, written save in such publications and the different '*Mélanges*' and '*Études*' that he edits.

beyond that of the peoples whom we now call savage; not so the Accadian. From their earliest appearance on the banks of the Euphrates, they seem to have been possessed of the art of writing, and of working in metals, including gold, bronze, and even iron.

The religion of this people, however, by no means corresponded with their social development. In their sacred literature, we can discern a time when the nation had not emerged from the stage which the learned call Shamanism. The ancient Accadian believed in no God, at least in our sense of the word. He thought that all things around him, from sun, moon, and stars, down to his own weapons, were endowed with life. And this life was as peculiar to the object it animated, as invisible, and as mysterious as the life which breathed in his own frame. He therefore called it its spirit; and this notion of spirits he before long extended to forces of a less concrete and more abstract nature. Some of these forces, like the light of the sun, were wholly beneficent to man; others, like the sea, were sometimes good and sometimes bad; others—perhaps the most numerous when we consider the lot of imperfectly civilized man—were entirely harmful. It was the spirit of the lightning which blasted his cattle, of the wind which chilled him, of the disease which racked him with pain, to which the Accadian paid most regard. He found himself, to use M. Maspero's simile, like a traveller in an unknown land, in the midst of savage tribes.

Such ideas, which are still found among nations like the Samoyedes and Esquimaux, have but one natural development. The mind of man, emboldened by his victories over some of the forces of nature, longs for allies for the conquest of the rest: and these, among Turanian people at all events, he first seeks amid his own race. He finds them in those individuals who, by superior intelligence and powers of observation, have already obtained some insight into the workings of nature and her laws, who have found by experiment herbs powerful to relieve disease, or who have learnt to recognise the signs of the weather. And from this moment the magician is born. To acquire power, or perhaps for baser considerations,

a person so gifted proclaims himself able to point out the means by which the malignant spirit can be exorcised or rendered harmless. But we can readily understand that both for the sake of the patient—for faith is often the best doctor—and to leave a loophole for escape in case of failure, he finds it prudent to make his method of operation as mysterious as possible. He accordingly ascribes the success of his treatment not to the natural gifts that he possesses, but to the supernatural ones which he does not. Certain words and acts, he says, have authority over the harmful spirit, but these are known to him alone. Then begins the manufacture of magic spells, formulas, and rites, where the pronunciation of each syllable, and the exact execution of each gesture are prescribed with the most jealous care.

Now, it is quite true that from this stage of belief, a higher faith will in the long run and under favourable circumstances be evolved. The magician or Shaman will sooner or later proclaim himself the agent of a higher power, and this power will be regarded as good merely because it lends aid to man against the bad. This happened in fact in the Accadian religion which finally developed into a highly organised cult, in which a supreme trinity ruled over a vast army of planets, stars, and 65,000 lesser gods, all of them in daily and hourly conflict with at least an equal number of demons. But it is singular to notice how obstinately, in spite of such innovations, the form of conjuration against the demons afflicting man, still preserved the old Shamanistic form. Let us take an incantation inscribed on a clay tablet at a time when the Accadian language had so long ceased to be used for any but religious purposes, that it had become necessary to subjoin to the spell a Semitic commentary explaining the meaning, and perhaps the true pronunciation, of the original words :

‘ The evil god, the evil demon,  
The demon of the field, the demon of the mountain,  
The demon of the sea, the demon of the tomb,  
The evil spirit, the dazzling fiend,  
The evil wind, the assaulting wind,  
Which strips off the clothing of the body as an evil demon,  
Conjure, O spirit of heaven ! conjure, O spirit of earth ! ’

And in other verses:—

‘ The painful fever, the potent fever,  
The fever which quits not a man,  
The fever-demon who departs not,  
The fever unremoveable, the evil fever,  
Conjure, O spirit of heaven ! conjure, O spirit of earth ! ’ \*

and so on. And this is all. There is no attempt here to move the powers addressed by describing the woeful case of their petitioner; no attempt to flatter them by praise, or to bribe them with sacrifices. The earth-spirit and sky-spirit invoked are just as likely to be bad as good. The author of the incantation probably did not concern himself to enquire whether they were the one or the other: it was enough for him to enumerate the demons it was sought to exorcise, and to leave the rest to the wonder-working powers of the spell. But it is easy to see that this procedure can be applied in two ways. The spell which compels the demon to release his prey may in malicious hands also compel him to afflict the sorcerer's enemies; and, along with the white magic which had for its object the delivery of man from besetting plagues, there will grow up a black magic which seeks to use the same plagues for his hurt. Such processes are naturally kept as secret as possible, but we know that they existed among the Accadians by the means taken to counterwork them. Thus in another text we read:—

‘ He who casts spells by the image of a man,  
The maleficent face, the maleficent eye,  
The maleficent mouth, the maleficent tongue,  
The maleficent lip, the maleficent poison.  
Conjure, O spirit of heaven ! conjure, O spirit of earth ! ’

This ‘wicked sorcery, which is not good,’ as it is elsewhere described, seems oftenest to have consisted (as suggested in the last-quoted text) in the ill-treatment of an image made in the likeness of the person whom the sorcerer wished to injure.

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\* This text with the two that follow are all in the British Museum, and have been published in Sir Henry Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Full translations are given in Sayce and Lenormant, *opp. cit.*



The following text shows the removal of a disease apparently caused by a *gri-gri* of the kind familiar to students of Scottish witch-trials:—

‘ Like this dyed thread which is torn and cast into the fire,  
The burning flame shall consume it,  
The weaver into a garment shall not weave it,  
For the clothing of God and king it shall not be used.  
So may the guardian-priest cause the ban to depart and unloose the  
bond  
Of the torturing disease, the sin, the backsliding, the wickedness, the  
sining,  
The disease which exists in my body, my flesh, and my muscles.  
Like this dyed thread may it be torn, and  
On this day may the burning flame consume it.  
May the ban depart that I may see the light.’

Both this counter-spell and the use of the image seem to be based upon the curious notion (of which many instances can be found in the Accadian texts) that the name of anything is really its counterpart or double, and that another object on which the name is conferred will exercise a sort of vicarious influence upon the original.

The beliefs disclosed by these texts long survived the independent existence of the nation which had given them birth. The conquests of the pre-classical world, indeed, never exercised much destructive influence on the creed of the vanquished; for it never entered into the heads of the victors to interfere with it. Secure in the belief that each nation possessed its own peculiar gods, they were quite willing to view with something more than tolerance the faith of the new subjects that war had given them. It was generally thought that the gods of the conquered, though of course inferior in prowess to those of their new masters, were quite good enough for the subjugated people, and might even be worth a little attention from the successful invaders. Hence, the predominance of the Assyrian race in the land of Accad only introduced a few Semitic elements into the religion of the State, and, apparently, did nothing to modify the witch-creed which chiefly occupied, then as always, the attention of the lower classes. The belief in the universal presence of demons, and

in the possibility of controlling them, was as widespread as ever : and, while the religion of the priests showed tendencies towards monotheism in Assyria, where the Semites were most numerous, and towards 'a philosophic materialism' in Babylonia, where the Turanians were in the majority, the transcription of spells and charms went on with unaltered diligence. Most of the tablets quoted above were transcribed in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, that is to say, about the middle of the 7th century B.C.

The fall of the Assyrian empire shortly after Assur-bani-pal's death, and its division between the Medes and the Babylonians, did much to spread the belief in demons and its consequences. The country which fell to the lot of the father of Nebuchadnezzar was, as we have seen, the original home of this faith, and had always been less exposed to the influence of monotheistic ideas than Assyria proper. But the latter country now passed into the hands of the Medes, under which name was comprised a large number of Turanian or Proto-medic tribes, akin to the Accadians in origin, and having but a small admixture of Aryan blood. These Medes, although they were afterwards said to have acknowledged the authority of the Avesta, or books of Zoroaster, were far from professing the strict faith of that prophet, as it appears in the recension made during the reign of the Sassanian princes some centuries later. They seem to have preferred instead that modification of it which is sometimes called Magism after the name of the Median priestly caste. In this faith, which bears strong marks of the influence of early Accadian beliefs, the evil principle received a much more prominent place than in the purer creed of the Sassanidae. Sacrifices were made to it as well as to the good, of which it may even have sometimes usurped the place. It was under this form that the religion of Zoroaster became known to the early classical writers, who are unanimous in declaring that the Magi offered human sacrifices to the powers of darkness. If this were true, the accusations of Del Rio and De Lancre were anticipated by many centuries, but the passages referred to are capable of a different construction. The best proof of their addiction to sorcery lies, perhaps, in the

general use which has lasted into our own times, of their tribal name as the ordinary appellation for a sorcerer ; and it may be that their tenets still survive in the faith of the Yezidis, or devil-worshippers noticed by Sir Austen Layard as still existing in Central Asia.

Nor does the conquest of both the Babylonian and Median kingdoms by Cyrus and his Persians seem likely to have brought about much change in the beliefs of the conquered. Cyrus, although possibly a Zoroastrian in his own land, always approved himself an extremely tolerant monarch, who was quite as willing to adore Jehovah or Nebo as Ahura-mazda ; and his Magian subjects were left in such full possession of their hybrid faith that they succeeded in placing the Magian impostor, Gomates, on the throne during the life of Cyrus' successor, Cambyses. Even the counter-revolution of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and the consequent massacre of many of the Magian caste, must have left their chief power untouched. For there were certainly Magi who occupied the position of priests to the army of Xerxes, and the constant confusion which the Greek writers make between Magi and Chaldeans shows that there was not any marked difference between the religion of the two nations. All the Latin authors, moreover, from the time of Pliny downwards, agree in ascribing to Zoroaster, who may here be taken as the representative of the Persian nation, the invention of those arts of sorcery and magic which are so strictly forbidden in the Avesta.

Up to the time that we have reached, however, these superstitions were confined within the limits of the Persian empire. In the ruder countries which bordered the Greek world—like Thesaly and Epeiros—there doubtless lingered some belief in a primitive witchcraft such as we find to-day in savage Africa. But such ideas received no sanction from either the philosophy of the learned, or the religion of the people. For, among Greek theories of the universe, beings utterly evil and hostile to man found no place. The Titans were opposed to Zeus and the Gods of Olympos, because, as the wild and unrestrained forces of nature, they threatened to bring confusion into the Kosmos of the orderer and arranger of all things ; but

they were never represented as delighting in the injury of mankind. According to one legend, they were the fathers of both gods and men; and in another, Prometheus, the arch-rebel against Zeus, is he who first brings the blessing of fire to mortals. Nay, according to Pindar and the poets who shared with him the Orphic mysticism, a reconciliation has already taken place between Zeus and his Titan foes, and the latter rule with Kronos over the Islands of the Blest. But, with Alexander's conquests, all this was changed. The great purpose of the hero's life—the marriage of Europe and Asia—was hardly achieved, when the devil-lore of the East began to creep through the gate from which Greek culture had poured into the conquered provinces. To the writers of the succeeding age, it seemed as if victor and vanquished had exchanged parts; and, while the children of Persians, Susianians, and Gedrosians were chanting, as Plutarch says, the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, the courts of the successors of Alexander were filled with Eastern magicians and wizards. In the words of Seneca, the conquered had given laws to the conquerors.

I do not think that the suggestion (first put forward by Vacherot) that the spread of this superstition was the work of Jews, will now be disputed. The witness of Origen that the magicians of every nation made conjurations in the name of 'the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,' coupled with the fact that Hebrew names and words are found in every written spell after the time of Alexander yet discovered, is in itself very strong evidence. But when we find the Jews themselves attributing such high importance to magical arts as they do in the apocryphal writings of the Hellenist age\* and the earlier Rabbinical traditions, we cannot think that the wandering Jewish magicians of the Acts of the Apostles and Josephus, or the Jewish witches of Juvenal are other than fair examples of the race from which they sprang. Moreover, it was not, apparently, the Jews of Palestine who first resorted to these

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\* In the *Book of Enoch*, one of the chief crimes of the angels 'who came down,' is said to be the teaching of magic and sorcery to men.

practices, but those of the Western Diaspora or Dispersion. And, scattered as they were among nations who for the most part hated and despised them, and subjected to constant annoyance and insult, we can well understand that nothing which gave them even a momentary superiority over their oppressors, would appeal in vain to the Jewish mind. We have seen, indeed, many instances since their day, of the curious rule by which scattered peoples of inferior civilization, such as the Lapps of Scandinavia, the Negroes in the West Indies, and the Indians of South America, become the sorcerers of the superior race.

That the system of magic practised by these Jews was that which the inhabitants of the Persian empire derived from the Accadians is also plain. I am not, indeed, one of those who hold that the Hebrews remained a nation of Sadducees, believing that there was no resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit, until the captivity, and that they came back after their seventy years' sojourn in Babylon with an angelology and demonology, a heaven and hell, borrowed *en bloc* from Avesta. There is no proof that the Avesta had any authority in Babylon until the reign of Darius, and I would rather accept the witness of the Bible, that the Hebrews were ever corrupting, down to the time of their latest prophet, the purity of their own worship with a crowd of superstitions taken from the practices of the polytheistic nations around them. It would therefore, no doubt, have been quite possible for them to have elaborated a system of magic of their own. But we know that this was not the case. The names of the demons in the Apocrypha and the Talmud, the use of phylacteries against evil spirits, and the Jewish treatment of disease can all be traced to Mesopotamian sources. We are therefore irresistibly led to the conclusion which has been reached on slightly different grounds by such writers as Mosheim and Neander, Lightfoot and Kuenen.

Here are some Jewish spells against witchcraft, lately discovered. Their relationship to the Accadian texts given above will be seen at once:—

‘ . . . For all the above-named (i.e., the owner of the charm, his family and possessions) may there be brought to



nought the vows, maledictions, and incantations of those we prohibit (from proceeding with them)! May there be brought to nought all evil spirits, the spirits of old men or of old women, of all those who work evil, of those who make sorceries and witchcraft, of all sorts of maleficent beings! May they all be prohibited from (causing) these feverish diseases! May they be far from your sons and your daughters! Turn from them the fever and maledictions, the unhealthy exhalations of the soil, and all which is named Matitha, all which hearkens in this world to the voice of the woman D— (this is evidently the witch) and her imprecation!’

The above does not specify by what power the charm works. Not so the next.

‘All wicked sorceries, deeds of power, maledictions, vows, bonds, careless words, from afar or near, by night or by day, by men or women, which may be raised against the children, the beasts or the goods of Belyehay, son of Lala, from this day forth for ever. May all these things be anathematised, banished, etc., from the domestic animals and children of Belyehay, son of Lala, on the road to Chouchi! O star, more mighty than all the stars of the world, by whom salvation cometh, who art the queen of all who make sorceries, benefactors in the name of Karmesisia, name sublime and ineffable! Amen,\* Amen, Selah!’

The third is still more explicit.

‘Salvation from heaven for Chisda bar Ama. All wicked sorceries, etc., (as in the last spell) be anathematised and banished from his body and from his dwelling, from his two hundred and forty-eight bewitched members, and from the place where dwells Chisda bar Ama on the road to Chousia! To the star which rules from on high over all other stars, which rides in the firmament, there belongs salvation; for she teaches magic to the magicians under the invocation of the jujube-tree. May the great name be pronounced! Amen, Amen, Selah!†’

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\* The Accadian *kakama*, translated in Semitic by *Amen*, appears at the end of all the magical texts.

† These spells are engraved on bowls now in the different European Museums. They were all discovered in the ruins of Hillah, the suburb of Babylon, said to have been occupied by the Jews whom the Romans transported there after the fall of Jerusalem. They have been deciphered and translated by M. Moise Schwab.

This 'star'\* may possibly be the Queen of Heaven whom Jeremiah reproaches the Hebrews of his time for worshipping. But she is evidently also to be identified with the Chaldean Istar, patroness of magicians, and goddess of the moon and the planet Venus. In the 'Great Name' we may see an illusion to the secret name of the second person of the Accadian trinity, which was the last and most effective weapon against the demons.

The Macedonian conquest, however, opened out other careers to the dispersed Jews than that of strolling magicians. They had always had a leaning towards Egypt, to which numbers of the people had fled in the days of Jeremiah; and, on the foundation of Alexandria, the Conqueror induced many others to settle there by granting them equal privileges with the Greeks. Moreover, Ptolemy Soter, when he succeeded to the satrapy of Egypt, took effectual steps in the same direction by seizing upon Jerusalem one Sabbath morning, and carrying away a large part of the inhabitants to his new capital. Here, under the wise rule of the earlier Ptolemies, the commercial instincts of the race obtained full scope, and they began to prosper exceedingly on the trade which sprang up between Egypt and the countries of both East and West. They were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and a certain amount of self-government under ethnarchs of their own blood; and before long, they became so rich that the seventy jewelled chairs in the Alexandrian synagogue came to be one of the sights of the city. Their condition was, in fact, something like that which their fellow-countrymen afterwards enjoyed in Spain under the learned and tolerant Moorish princes.

Now, trade naturally brings about an interchange of ideas among the people engaged in it, and in such a commerce the Jews were likely to receive more than they gave. Being, like all Semites, rather wanting in originality, they could not fail to be much impressed by their contact with the most brilliant and intellectual nation of the ancient world. Hence they made

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\* So, in the *Book of Enoch*, the angels are called stars. Philo also calls the planets the 'visible gods.'

haste to learn, and even to imitate, the Greek philosophy then most in fashion at Alexandria, and no doubt obtained some insight into the researches into the secrets of nature which the King's paid professors were conducting at the Museum. But the first attempts of a race to absorb the culture of one more highly civilised are never very satisfactory, and are even apt to appear to outsiders a little ludicrous. So was it with the Hellenizing Jews. Even in the early days of Alexandria, we find them attempting to trace their descent from the Lacedaemonians, inventing letters to prove the supposed respect of the Ptolemies for their religious books, and forging verses to show how much Homer and the legendary Orpheus were indebted to Moses. Nobler instances of the effect of Greek philosophy upon their minds may indeed be found among their Apocrypha, as, for instance, in the wisdom of Solomon and the Son of Sirach. But, on the whole, it seems clear that the Babu scholarship of the first Jewish-Alexandrian school was a poor plant which, had it overspread the parent nation (as at one time seemed likely), would have robbed it of its religion and its independence without giving anything in exchange. For most people will agree that the Sadducean creed shows evident traces of Greek influence; and the introduction of Greek customs at Jerusalem, coupled with the existence of the schismatic temple at Leontopolis, would, but for the rise of the Messianic idea, have led to the absorption of the Jews into the great body of Hellenism.\*

It was while things were in this posture that there arose at Alexandria, a theory of the universe still very imperfectly understood, but which seems to have been the main agent in the propagation of the belief in magic, and its constant attendant witchcraft, among modern peoples. This was the system which, when it appeared in the primitive Church, received the name of Gnosticism, but which was in fact of a little earlier date than Christianity. In saying this, I know that I shall appear to some to be talking without warrant, because it was for a long time supposed that the Gnostics were

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\* Cf. Prof. Mahaffy's *Greek Life and Thought* (London, 1887), chap. xx.

merely a set of heretics who, from a misinterpretation of Scripture, had departed from the faith of the Church. I can only reply that such a theory was arrived at when the writings of a few fathers, such as St. Irenaeus and St. Epiphanius, formed the only authorities for Gnostic opinions; but our knowledge of Gnosticism has lately received three very important additions. One of these is the *Philosophumena*, the greater part of which was discovered some fifty years ago; the other two, the *Pistis-Sophia*,\* deciphered a few years later, and the *Bruce Papyrus*, which was only given to the world in the course of last year.† The *Philosophumena*, which is now generally attributed to Hippolytus Bishop of Portus at the beginning of the 3rd century, gives an account of several of the older Gnostic sects whose tenets were hitherto unknown to us; the *Pistis-Sophia* and the *Bruce Papyrus* are actually the writings of Gnostics themselves, and describe their theories and rites in something of the form of the Canonical Gospels. Yet, I confess that even now it is impossible to do more than guess at where and how pre-Christian Gnosticism was born. Some, like Lightfoot, hold that it is to be traced to those communities of Essenes whom Josephus describes as living by the shores of the Dead Sea. Others, with more probability, would deduce it from the fusion of Greek and barbarian ideas which took place when Ptolemy Epiphanes was compelled (as M. Revillout has shown) to submit to all the ceremonies of the old Egyptian ritual, and so to make the ancient religion of his native subjects, in some sort, that of the state. What we do know is, that within thirty years of the Christian Era, Simon Magus was preaching in Samaria a Gnostic system much too highly developed to have been lately invented; and that in certain Gnostic sects no connection with Christianity can be found, while in those where it does appear, it has rather the air of a late addition than of a necessary element.

It would be impossible to give here any detailed account of the Gnostic doctrines as disclosed in the recently-discovered

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\* Berlin, 1853.

† *Academie des Inscriptions, Notices et Extraits*, t. xxxix. (Paris, 1891).

documents. It is sufficient to state that they include the absolute opposition between God and Matter, and the creation and government of the world by a series of beings placed between God and men. But of the supreme place which magic held in their rites there can be no doubt. The author of the *Philosophumena* prefixes to his description of them, an account of the Chaldaean magic and incantations, from whence he declares them to be derived: and in the two Gnostic Gospels, all the ceremonies detailed are of a magical kind, including the invocation of many powers whose names are to be traced to the Hebrew or Chaldee languages. When we add to this that two of the most celebrated Gnostic teachers were magicians of Jewish extraction, it will be seen that the part which magic played in the introduction of Gnosticism was necessarily an important one. But we can go very much farther than this. The fundamental idea of all Gnosticism was, that man could liken himself to the Deity neither by faith nor by works, but only by the knowledge (*γνῶσις*) which he could acquire of the Divine nature and the intermediate powers. We know further, that, whatever loftiness of conception there may originally have been in this idea, in the time of our two Gospels it had degenerated into the performance of undignified jugglery and the utterance of meaningless words. Yet, by these practices, the Gnostics thought that they could not only pass unharmed through the hostile powers in the next world, but could compel them to divert the ordinary course of nature in this. The difference in principle between this and the magic of a people like the Accadians is really indistinguishable.

Now, it has been well said, that to such a faith as this, Paganism, Judaism and Christianity were but veils. It was plainly open to every Gnostic to profess any faith which seemed most to his temporal advantage, so long as he preserved in his memory the magical rites which gave him power over the demons. This was the advice formally given by several of the Gnostic teachers, and there is ample proof that it was adopted by the greater number of their disciples. It was doubtless in this way, that many persons who were



attracted by Christianity, but whose faith was not yet strong enough to defy persecution, joined the Church, to which Gnosticism thus formed but a resting-place on the road from Paganism. But it may be doubted whether the Church did not pay very dearly for such recruits. For it was impossible for their opponents always to distinguish between Gnostic and Catholic Christians; and the practices of the latter often gave good ground for the accusation of magic brought against the whole faith by the Imperial prosecutors. The converts thus obtained also introduced among their new friends, along with customs harmless enough in themselves, some less innocent opinions, of which the belief in witches and a highly-complicated demonology formed part.

The conversion of Constantine, however, put an end to this state of affairs, and even transferred the sword of persecution to Christian hands. The schools founded by the great Gnostic teachers of the second century were now for the most part in a languishing condition, and it seemed as if the Church were about to be rid of the most dangerous enemy against which she had yet had to struggle;—when a new Gnosticism which had for some time been brewing in the Mesopotamia, from whence so many pernicious beliefs had issued, suddenly made its appearance in the West. This revival, which is called from the name of its alleged founder, Manichaeism was in every way a more serious faith than its predecessor. It is still doubtful whether there really was any bond of unity between the different Gnostic schools, or whether every teacher did not feel himself at liberty to invent such additions to the faith as pleased him: but the Manichaean doctrine was protected by a hierarchy as well-organised and sometimes a good deal more zealous than the orthodox. And, while the Gnostics believed, for the most part, in the final disappearance of evil and the return of all things to the Deity from whom they came, the Manichaeans held firmly to the sharpest dualism. On the one side, said they, is light, that is to say, God, or the good; on the other, darkness, or evil: and between these two there can be no compromise and no cessation of warfare. Both have existed from the beginning, and will continue to exist till the

end; and this world, created as it has been by the Prince of Darkness, serves only as their battle-ground. Some men, indeed, contain within them a spark of light, and will be admitted to fight on the side of the good. By abstaining from the propagation of the species, from the taking of life, and from well nigh all food, they may succeed in being called within the ranks of the *elect*, when the knowledge which gives them power over the demons, and which is now treasured up within the Manichaen Church will be confided to them. The other members of the faith must be contented with the lower position of *hearers*; on them is cast the duty of maintaining and defending the elect, to whom they must be obedient both in spiritual and temporal matters. They may profess what outward creed they please, and if they are faithful will be rewarded by the elect by the performance for them of certain sacraments, which will facilitate the return of their souls to the light, and render easier the otherwise painful process of purification to which they must be subjected after death. But for the majority of the human race there is no hope. Born the slaves of Satan, they cannot free themselves from his sway; and, when the few elements of light in this world have been redeemed from it, they, together with the visible universe will be destroyed, in order that a province may thereby be cut off from the kingdom of darkness.

Against this heresy, the Catholics invoked the aid of their new allies, the Roman emperors; nor did they long call in vain. Constantine, indeed, had received a favourable report of the Manichaeans' civil conduct, and refused to meddle with them; but his successors were more pliable. In 372 appeared an edict of Valentinian and Valens against them, which forms, I think, the first example of persecution for opinion's sake known to the western world; and this was followed by the edicts of Theodosius and of Valentinian III. inflicting punishments of always increasing severity, until in the reign of Justinian they were punished with death. But it was long before these measures had much repressing effect. The respite the Manichaeans had enjoyed had enabled them to unite with the remains of the earlier Gnostics. And, profiting by their

example, the hearers were always able to conceal themselves within the Church, while the elect went cheerfully to death, conscious that both their life and the manner of leaving it contrasted favourably with the sloth and self-seeking already settling down over the orthodox clergy. It was not until the 7th century that the Manichæan heresy could be said to be extinct in Europe.

During this time, the belief in witchcraft had been growing stronger and stronger. If there is one fact in the history of superstition better established than another, it is that the magic which is used for good, will always have by its side the magic which is used for evil purposes. And, as the efficacy of the Manichæan sacraments, like those of the older Gnosis, depended on magic or nothing, it was probably this which connected the spread of Manichæism with the spread of sorcery. Or, it is even possible that the stories so constantly repeated of an actual worship of the devil may have had some foundation in fact; and, that some ignorant persons, deafened by the assurance constantly poured into their ears that the evil principle was in this world quite as powerful as the good, and convinced of their own damnation in any case, may have really attempted to invoke that power whose service held out the most hope of temporal advantage. But of the fact itself there can be no doubt. Wherever the Manichæan heresy was present, we find the belief in evil magic increased; and, when the heresy died away, the cognate superstition went with it. In the Roman province of Africa, which formed for the centuries named, the chief seat of the sect, the decrees of the councils are filled with denunciations of witchcraft, and particularly of an abuse of the sacraments which formed one of its most distinguishing characteristics in Christian times.\*

But, with the suppression of the first outbreak of Manichæism in Europe the belief in this sort of black magic began to fade away. Cases of it appear at intervals perhaps as

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\* A Coptic MS. recently published by Prof. Revillout gives a sermon by St. Athanasius in which he says, 'Does not he sin who dares to give the body of Christ to a magician.'

frequent as before; but it no longer occupied so prominent a place in the popular attention. Although the Teutonic races who had now obtained the lion's share in the spoils of the Roman Empire, were much addicted to a rude sorcery of their own, we find nothing like the formal invocation of evil spirits that we have seen existing among the early inhabitants of Asia. The barbarian codes which had replaced the Imperial legislation are for the most part silent about it, and (as Mr. Lea has recently pointed out), both the ecclesiastical and the civil penalties for magic which are there enacted are singularly mild. Moreover, the Church herself began to entertain more rational views on the subject. In the 9th century an Irish Council anathematises any Christian who believes in the existence of witches, and enacts that he shall recant before reconciliation with the Church; while Gregory VII. writes in 1080 to Harold of Denmark to reprove the custom of attributing all tempests, sickness, and other bodily misfortunes to 'priests and women.' Such visitations, he says, are the judgments of God, and to wreak vengeance for them upon the innocent is only to provoke still more the Divine wrath. Only in England and Norway, where the worship of the old heathen gods, now of course denounced as devils, occasionally reappeared, did the practice of witchcraft call for repression by the authorities of Church or State.

But the snake was scotched, not killed. Though suppressed in the West, the Manichaeans maintained their ground in Asia, where, indeed, they have survived to the present day.\* Here they were driven by the persecutions of Justinian, who is said to have caused the incredible number of 100,000 to be slain, to establish themselves in Armenia on the very outskirts of the Empire of the East, where they from time to time entered into alliance with the barbarians who were always attacking it. As the Manichaeans were noted for their contempt of death, and were animated with religious hatred against their persecutors, they proved very formidable antagonists to the Greek Emperors, until in 970 John Tzimiskes laid violent hands upon all the

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\* A Secret Religion. *Cornhill Magazine*, January, 1891.

Paulicians (as these sectaries were now called) that he could catch, and transported them to Thrace, where he promised them toleration. During the century that followed, missionaries from their capital Philippopolis and the neighbouring cities, spread the Manichaean doctrines through the Danubian provinces to Italy, Spain, France, and as far north as Flanders. Nor did the seed fall upon stony ground. Aided by the corruptions of the Church, they succeeded in converting to their tenets so many of the laity, that in Southern France and Northern Italy the Manichaeans were thought to be equal in number to the Catholics. In Bohemia they obtained a foothold that they did not lose for centuries, and in Bosnia their creed was made the religion of the State. In the opinion of the last historian of the Inquisition they 'threatened the permanent existence of Christianity,'\* and endangered the institution of the family. A more probable effect of their continued success would have been the outbreak of religious wars such as afterwards marked the spread of the Protestant Reformation, and the consequent weakening of Christendom at the very time when the Turks were pressing her hard.

From these dangers, the Albigensian Crusades, and the subsequent institution of the Mediaeval (or Dominican) Inquisition saved Europe. But the heresy lingered long, and it was not until the middle of the 14th century that Manichaeism finally succumbed. Meanwhile, sorcery had, as ever, followed in its footsteps. Soon after their appearance in Languedoc, accusations of devil-worship had been made against the Manichaeans, without attracting much attention. But, in 1231, Conrad of Marburg, the harsh director of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, professed to have discovered a set of heretics, who worshipped Satan with all the revolting ceremonies generally attributed to the Witches' Sabbath. Nearly a thousand of these so-called Luciferans were routed out and burnt, under a process specially devised by the Legate, the atrocity of which would really have justified the strongest censures ever passed upon Inquisitorial

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\* Lea, *op. cit.*



methods. Luckily for Hungary, the proceedings created so much feeling against the tribunal, that they dropped on Conrad's murder two years later. The same charges were brought, in 1232, by Gregory IX. against the Stedinger of Friesland, whom he accused of worshipping demons, abusing the sacrament, and making wax figures for the destruction of their enemies. It is not impossible that some heathen rites did linger among the imperfectly civilized Frieslanders, but their real crime was doubtless their refusal to pay tithes, and their obstinate adherence to laws which offered a singular contrast to the feudalism of the rest of Europe. For this they were exterminated by a special crusade, and, although the horror at this deed caused a slight reaction for the moment against charges of witchcraft, the same pretext was used at the end of the century for the destruction of the Templars. A little later, (in 1318), John XXII. began to issue proclamations and to promulgate Bulls against the increase of magic, which, with some insight into the real facts of the case, he tried to cut off from its base by letters addressed to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Archbishops of the East. Yet, though the Inquisition had now been allowed to take cognizance of witchcraft, and its more searching methods produced a fair crop of penitents, the number of prosecutions was but small when compared with the thousands of victims sacrificed to superstition two centuries later. The trials of Marjery Jourdain and her accomplices in England, and of Joan of Arc, Gilles de Retz, and the Vaudois of Arras in France, are almost the only witch-trials of importance in the 15th century.

And now, men might have thought that the end was come. The dualistic faith that we have traced from Western Asia to Alexandria, and from Alexandria to Languedoc, had been driven back to the East whence it came, and the superstitions natural to primitive peoples had no longer organised supporters in Europe. Moreover, the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Turks had sent into the West those monuments of Greek philosophy which hitherto only a few had known through Arabic or Hebrew paraphrases, but which the recent invention of printing was soon to spread throughout the civilized world. The key to that rational investigation of Nature which had sunk into disuse when

Ptolemy's philosophers were driven from Alexandria, was now in the hands of the Latins. They had but to make use of it, and the demons of Eastern imagination would be exorcised more thoroughly than they had ever yet been by priest or sorcerer.

Had the learned men who gathered round Cosmo di Medici obtained but an inkling of that second-sight after which they were constantly striving, how much misery might not the world have been spared! But the eyes of men who have long been in darkness do not willingly and at once turn to the Light; and I suppose the members of the Platonic Academy at Florence are not to be blamed because they saw men as trees walking before they saw them as men. The first use they made of the treasures of the New Learning was to burrow in them for the magic which Celsus told the superstitious of his day had no power over those educated in philosophy.\* And the century which followed the invention of printing saw the issue of dozens of books upon the ceremonial invocation of spirits, the manufacture of talismans, the mystic dreams of the later Neo-Platonists, and the absurd arithmetic of the Cabala. But, as I have so often said, white magic never yet appeared without black magic by its side; and for one learned man who tried by such arts to divine the future or discover hidden treasure, there were probably a dozen witches among the lower classes who used meaningless spells to injure or annoy their neighbours. Thus arose the most fearful epidemic of fear that the world has yet seen, and for more than a century the witch-fires blazed throughout Europe as if both Catholic and Protestant had united to do honour to the devil whose power they thus celebrated. The demon of superstition had indeed great wrath, because he knew that his time was short.

For a magician destined to produce greater wonders than any of which inquisitor or witch had yet dreamed, had now risen from his sleep; and when the butchers paused from mere weariness, and men turned back to look with shame upon the work of their hands—when the Jesuit began to plead for justice, and the witch-judge for mercy to his prisoners—it was seen that a mightier spirit had been at work. While monks and ministers were torturing women

for reversing the order of nature, and the priests of every Church were endeavouring to prevent men from enquiring further into her operations, a few students had been perfecting the system of observation and experiment by which alone she can be made to yield her secrets; and, while the pupils of Sprenger and Institor were scouring Europe, Copernicus and Newton had taken up the work which Hipparchus had left unfinished, and Harvey and Sydenham had extended the researches of Hippocrates and Galen. Before the spirit of free enquiry that their discoveries excited, one superstition after another went down; and among them the belief in witchcraft fell with hardly a voice raised in its defence. By the end of the seventeenth century, it had practically disappeared from Europe, and if faint memories of it from time to time reappear, it is only under circumstances which provoke the laughter of the multitude.

Here, perhaps, I should stop. But in considering some comments provoked by the case mentioned at the beginning of this paper, I notice a tendency to consider that there may be (to use a colloquial expression) something in it. Now this tendency both as being thoroughly British and as springing from a not ungenerous desire to hear the weaker side, has my heartiest sympathy; and, I am therefore led to say a few words on a question which I have hitherto carefully excluded, namely: What *sub-stratum* of truth is there in the stories about magic and witchcraft? I at once admit that there exists a greater body of evidence in favour of the belief in magic (whether white or black makes no difference) than of almost any other belief in the whole world; and we should all therefore have to believe in its efficacy if this evidence were trustworthy. But this is just what it is not. In the hundreds of cases which I have examined where the evidence consisted of the witch's own confession, I can recall none where the confession was not either extorted by torture, or dictated by the most palpable insanity. Nor is the evidence in other cases which have not come into court, of the kind that would bear a moment's cross-examination. We are therefore driven back on conjecture to discover the source of the extraordinary things told in nearly all the magical stories recorded.

The best instance for examination is the legend of the witches'

Sabbath. The theory (so to speak) of the prosecution is that the witches were transported by supernatural means to some desolate spot, where they found a great crowd of their neighbours assembled: that the devil was present among them in bodily shape: that they went through a number of disgusting and obscene rites (this is always insisted on): that there they received power to fulfil their wishes: and that they finally returned home without knowing how they got there. The explanation given of this by Michelet, Bunsen, and lately Mr. Lea, is that there really was such meetings to which the peasantry, maddened by the extortions of their lords, used to resort; that they used to defy God from despair, and that the convoker of the meeting used to personate the devil to increase the solemnity of the occasion. But no case has ever been discovered where any person was brought to confess that he himself had ever played the devil on one of these occasions, no person unconnected with the Sabbath has ever witnessed it, and no trace of one having been held was ever found on the ground itself. We must therefore dismiss Michelet's theory as being founded on the idea prevalent about the time of the Revolution of 1848, that the French nobles were a set of ruffians, who had nothing to do during the Middle Ages but to go about their estates maltreating their tenants, and enforcing their *droits du seigneur*.

Another explanation is that all these stories are dictated by conscious imposture. This is the line taken by Hippolytus in ancient days and by Salverte in our own, the latter having given very ingenious details in his book on *Les Sciences Occultes* to show how the effects of both white and black magic can be artificially produced. But most of these demand a number of appliances quite above the reach of the people of whom we are treating. Nor does it account for the fact that tales bearing considerable likeness to those recorded are still heard from the lips of lunatics, 'possessed' persons, and even hysterical women. The suggestion has also been made to me that most of the marvels of the Sabbath can be accounted for on the ground of Hypnotism, and this theory seems to me worthy of careful attention. Hypnotism, as I understand it, is the name given to a class of cases (lately examined under conditions which exclude imposture),

wherein a person fancies himself bound to follow implicitly the suggestions of another, in discovering which he generally shows an abnormal acuteness. If we admit this, we have an explanation of the fact (otherwise very hard to account for) that witches with no fear of torture before their eyes have sometimes declared themselves to have been at the Sabbath at a time when they were quietly sleeping in their own cells. It is also to be noted that epileptic persons are the most easily hypnotised, and that among tribes like the Siberians who are still in a state of Shamanism, the magicians of the tribe are always chosen from the children possessing this tendency.

But the part that poisonous drugs have played in all magic must by no means be neglected. In all ages the witch has been a collector of herbs, and many of these have been found on examination to disturb and confuse the brain. To take only one instance, many of the medicines which play an important part in modern medicine (including laudanum) were introduced by Paracelsus, who says that he was led to them by the hints of 'wise women and conjurers.' Whatever truth there may be in the above theories, I think we may all agree in the opinion of Pliny, as expressed in the quaint English of Philemon Holland: 'That it is a detestable and abominable art, grounded on no certain rules; full of lies and vanities, howsoever it carry some show or shadow of verity; and to say a truth, that certitude which it hath in effecting anything, proceedeth rather from the devilish cast of poisoning practised therewith, than from the art itself of Magic.'

F. LEGGE.

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#### ART. VI.—THE WEDDING-TOUR OF JAMES VI. IN NORWAY.

THROUGHOUT the long and varied career of James VI. there is only one incident that stands forth prominently as showing that he had a dash of the romantic Stuart blood in his veins—his chivalrous voyage to Norway to bring home his bride. There is a tinge of romance in the dubious story of the



Gowrie Conspiracy, but it is not of a kind that reflects much glory upon the King. The valiant expeditions which he led to the North against Huntly, seem to show that the Crown still graced the brow of a worthy descendant of the King who fought and fell at Flodden; and yet the careful student of the history of the period will find that James VI. did not place his precious person in great jeopardy until he had made sure that there was little danger to be apprehended. But it was far otherwise when he committed his royal person and fortunes to the mercy of the raging North Sea in winter, and set sail across the stormy waters to bring home the wedded wife whom he had never seen. He could not take refuge behind his men-at-arms against the attacks of blustering Boreas, as he had done to escape the rage of the Ruthvens at Gowrie House; and to face the stormy waters at the most tempestuous time of the year, he must have encased his heart in the 'triple brass' which Horace desiderated for the first navigator. It is more than remarkable, therefore, that Scottish historians have passed over this incident almost in silence, and that one looks in vain throughout the contemporary records of the time for a faithful and exhaustive account of the King's adventures in Norway. There are ample details of the secret preparations made by the King for his departure from Leith. The letter in which he announced the appointment of regents during his absence, and commanded his people to obey them, is preserved, and has been frequently printed. The names of the trusty nobles whom he took with him have been faithfully recorded, and even their trifling disputes as to precedence have been detailed. A gossiping story is told by Moysie regarding the King's first meeting with his bride at Oslo, and the bare fact of his marriage there is beyond doubt. The great preparations made to welcome the King on his return to Scotland with his Queen, and the imposing ceremonies observed at their coronation, have been very fully detailed by more than one chronicler. But the strange and romantic adventures of James VI. during the six months that he was absent from his kingdom are nowhere completely related in Scottish history, and are usually touched upon in the most perfunctory fashion.

With this fact I was confronted some time ago in a striking manner. Having been engaged for years past collecting materials for a history of the reign of James VI., I was brought to a standstill to account for the long period that elapsed between his leaving Leith in October, 1589, and his return there in the following April. It is doubtless true that Spottiswoode gives an imperfect itinerary of the King's tour in Norway and Denmark, derived possibly from the stories told by some of the brilliant company in the King's train; but nothing is said as to the adventures of the King before his marriage, nor of the remarkable incidents in that strange voyage. Melville also details a few of the events in this episode, though his information is very incomplete. In the Records of the Privy Council, Vol. IV., Professor Masson has drawn together in a series of foot-notes nearly all that these historians have related, quoting also the interesting letter from the King to Robert Bruce regarding his home-coming, which is given *in extenso* by Calderwood, (Vol. V., pp. 81, 82). Tytler, founding upon some mysterious authority to which he does not refer, states that the marriage took place in 'the Church of Upsal,' by which he may have meant Upsala in Sweden, though all the previous writers call the town 'Upslaw,' which we may take as the Scottish version of the name Oslo, in Norway. The very date of the marriage is variously given by different authorities; and after thorough investigation the anxious inquirer must come to the conclusion that the Scottish records of this very important event are in a state of chaotic confusion.

Meditating upon this subject, and entirely at a loss to know where I should turn for reliable material wherewith to fill up this serious gap in the life of James VI., I suddenly recollected that the Rev. W. Dunn Macray in his Report on the MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen (Forty-fifth Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, Appendix II., p. 62) written in 1883, mentioned a quarto of 32 leaves, entitled 'Copy (made at the beginning of the 18th century) of a Danish narrative of the marriage of James VI. of Scotland with the Princess Anna, containing both the Negotiations and the Ceremonial.' Here was a source of information that had been over-

looked by our Scottish historians. But it was only a copy of comparatively recent date. Where was the original to be found? Surely there was some likelihood of its being preserved in a public repository near where the ceremony took place. The town of Oslo had been superseded by the city of Christiania, founded by Christiern IV., the brother of the Princess Anna, in 1625, and it was remotely possible that the document might have been placed for security there. At least it would be worth the labour to visit Christiania, and to find if no local tradition existed regarding an event of such moment as the marriage of a foreign king with the sister of the reigning sovereign. My anticipations were more than realized. The original contemporary account of the Bridal of James VI. of Scotland is now preserved in the Library of the University of Christiana, and it sets at rest forever the dubiety as to the scene of the marriage and the style of the ceremony. With the kind assistance of Professor Rygh and Professor Gustav Storm of Christiania University, and also with the friendly aid of Herr O. A. Overland, author of the *Illustreret Norges Historie*, I have been able to make this valuable document of some avail for future Scottish historians. Before quoting from it, however, it may be interesting to relate some of the other incidents in this search after historic truth.

It was natural to suppose, as Tytler states, that the marriage of the King would take place in the Church, so taking a conveyance from Christiania, I set out to discover the Kirke of Oslo. The old town of Oslo, founded in 1050, and now a mere suburb of Christiania, is situated at the base of the Ekeberg, a mountain-ridge that rises precipitously to a height of 400 feet, and overlooks the undulating vale where Christiania is built, commanding a magnificent view of Christiania Fjord with its countless islets dotting the placid surface of the water. As the boundary betwixt Norway and Sweden lies a few miles east of the summit of Ekeberg, and as there was a perpetual feud between the two nations in the olden times, this mountain was the scene of many a bloody fray. The Swedes, marching westward, planted their cannon upon the vantage ground of Ekeberg, and (as a Norwegian graphically phrased it to me)

'peppered the poor folk of Oslo' in a merciless manner. There is much in the history of these local battles that recalls the Border raids and forays in our own country; and the Norwegians even to this day regard the Swedes in the same suspicious way that the Scots of former times looked upon 'oure auld innemyies of England.' The natural result of this persistent warfare was that the town of Oslo was frequently destroyed, the log-built houses not being calculated to resist either fire or artillery. For centuries, however, Oslo was privileged to rise, phoenix-like, from its ashes; and even now there is a timber dwelling of very ancient date, which has quite a romantic history attached to it. It was the chosen retreat of the blood-thirsty tyrant, Christiern II. (1513-1523), and here he resided with his mistress, Columbul, during the only happy period of his stormy reign. It is supposed that he sought refuge in this weather-beaten old building after his deposition, until he could arrange his escape to Flanders. There is every probability that this is almost the only remaining fragment of the Oslo which James VI. saw, as the town was devastated by fire in 1624. It was in the succeeding year that Christiern IV. ordered the inhabitants to build their houses further away from Ekeberg and nearer to the fortress of Akershus, and thus the town was founded which was named Christiania after the King.

A single glance at Oslo Kirke was sufficient to show me that it could not be identified with Tytler's mythical 'Church of Upsal' where the marriage of James VI. is said to have been celebrated. It is a plain, oblong wooden structure, rough-cast on the outside, with curious doors broken through the side-wall facing the street, at odd intervals, and giving access to different parts of the area, and to a stair leading to the end loft or gallery. It is quite a typical example of the barn-like erections which our forefathers built in Scotland a hundred years ago, and dedicated to the most sacred uses. Inquiries at the verger, who, by-the-way, is called, in homely Scottish fashion, 'the bedell,' brought out the fact that this is the third kirk that has occupied the site, its predecessors having been burned or destroyed by the Swedes. It was built in 1796, more than

two hundred years after the bridal of King James. There are still preserved within its walls some of the Popish vestments that were worn by the Bishops of Oslo before the tyrant Christiern II. had decided to foster 'the Lutheran Heresy,' and these I had the privilege of examining; but they did not bring me nearer the end I had in view, though it is very probable that these voiceless garments were at the royal ceremony. In the quaint old cemetery situated on the opposite side of the Ekeberg Veien from Oslo Kirke there is a tombstone which marks the last resting-place of a renowned Englishman, whose name is still a household word throughout our land. Bradshaw—not the regicide, who sleeps in an unhonoured grave by the shores of the Lake of Geneva, but Bradshaw, the deviser of the Railway Guide which has been alike a treasure and a torment to myriads of tourists—rests peacefully in this strange, back-of-the-world graveyard, having died suddenly at Oslo, of cholera, many years ago. Immediately adjoining the Kirke there is a building that once was a famous nunnery, but was converted after the Reformation into a kind of secular institution of the same sort, and is still a refuge for indigent females. Interesting as were all these places in themselves, I could not but feel that I had been on a wild-goose chase, and I returned to Christiania somewhat crest-fallen.

Every critical reader will tell me that my next move should have been my first step in this search; and whilst I sorrowfully admit the charge, let me plead, in extenuation, that I was misled by Tytler, for whom I have always had a very profound reverence. It seemed now the wisest plan for me to learn what the *Samtidig Beretning den Prindsesse Anna, Christian den 4des Sysfers Giftermaal med Kong Jakob den 6te af Scotland og hendes paafolgende Kroning* had to say about the locality of this ceremony. From that most interesting document I learned that the marriage did not take place in the church at all, but in the *Gamle Bispegaard*, or old Bishop's Palace of the time. Here I was shunted on to a new line of research, and perennial hope sprang up in my breast once more. With the aid of the ever-courteous Mr. Bennett, the tourist's friend, who has long been resident in Christiania, I discovered that this house was



still in existence, and had been transformed some forty years ago into a splendid mansion-house, now known as the Lade-gaard. Accompanied by a Scottish friend from the British Consulate, I set out in search of the Bishop's Palace, and soon discovered the mansion. It is situated at the corner of Bispe Gade (Bishop Street) and Oslo Gade, nearly equi-distant from Oslo Kirke and Oslo Havn. From the first glimpse of the exterior one might readily conclude that it would be the last place where a historian would expect to find traces of a royal marriage having been celebrated within its walls three hundred years ago. The eastern wing of the mansion has been modernized, large square windows have been inserted, a graceful modern exterior staircase gives access to the main entrance, and the front elevation has been decorated in a manner that to the antiquary looks painfully new. But there are traces still remaining in the western wing that show very completely the style of the building at the time the nuptial ceremony was performed. The building is in three flats. The ground floor was reserved for kitchen and offices; the first floor contained the great hall and withdrawing-room, and the upper flat was utilized for suites of bedrooms. It was thus constructed exactly on the same plan as the Scottish castles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The wall of the ground floor is set back about four feet from the line of the wall of the flats above, and a colonnade of strong timber pillars has been placed along the whole frontage by which the projecting portion of the upper part of the building was supported. There was thus a covered piazza running around the whole mansion on the ground level, precisely similar to those found in old Scottish urban mansions, such as Gibson's Land in Glasgow, and Our Lady Wark in Dundee. By the alterations made about a century ago on the eastern wing, this colonnade has been obliterated, and the space of the piazza has been absorbed into the building by simply carrying the line of the wall from the projecting upper floors to the ground. There is a sufficient portion of the old plan left, however, to show the original method of construction.

On entering the main doorway the visitor finds himself in a

square vestibule, with doors to right and left, leading respectively to the east and west wings, and a narrow timber staircase giving access to the upper flat. The vestibule is decorated with four large oil-paintings, in low-relief rococo frames, devised in the style of sixteenth century art, the subjects being quasi-classical. One of these represents an obese and fatuous Venus attended by a most villainous-looking Satyr; another shows a procession of sportive and well-fed Cupids; the third is a very original design for a fountain, conceived with an artistic disregard for the first principles of hydrostatics; and the fourth is a group of nymphs and satyrs belonging to the pre-Sartorial period. Herr Konow, the present proprietor of the Ladegaard, who is an enthusiastic student of history, says that the consistent tradition regarding these pictures, is that they were brought from Copenhagen to decorate the Bishop's Palace while it was the residence of the Princess Anna, and there seems no good reason for doubting this statement. The marriage ceremony took place in the great hall in the eastern wing, as will be found from the contemporary description quoted below.

Apart from its interest as the scene of the wedding of a Scottish King, the Ladegaard has a curious history of its own. One portion of the mansion is of unknown antiquity. Immediately under the great hall there is a curious crypt chapel built of hewn stone, which was probably erected about the same time as the town of Oslo was founded, *circa* 1050. It has been identified as the Kirke of St. Halvard, which was in existence in 1138, when the battle of Oslo was fought between Eric IV. of Denmark and Magnus of Norway, which resulted in the overthrow of the latter, and his mutilation and life-long imprisonment by his captor. This crypt is about 40 feet by 38 feet within the walls. It is curiously divided into four compartments by strongly built stone walls traversing the interior at right angles, and meeting in a square central pillar measuring 70 centimetres. These walls have been pierced with archways, and by covering these openings with curtains it would be possible to transform the Chapel into four separate oratories. The roofs of these four compartments are barrel-

vaulted, and the walls rise 9 feet to the spring of the arch, the height from floor to apex being 18 feet. The place was lighted by two windows in the eastern wall, each measuring 2 metres 60 cent., and by an arrow-slit window near the south-western corner; while a recess at the north-west corner was probably an ambry for holding the sacred elements and the priestly robes, or may have been used on occasion as an open fire-place. A curious circular opening about 1 inch in diameter pierces the vaulting and opens into the great hall, and may have been a kind of *meatus auditorius* by which the Bishop might hear if his subordinates misconducted themselves in his absence. The floor of the chapel is below the ground-level, and a short flight of steps led down to it. Around this structure the residence of the Bishop gradually grew until the Kirke of St. Halvard became merely a private chapel. When the Kirke of Oslo was built at the base of the Ekeberg, a subterranean passage was made from the Bispegaard to the sacred edifice,—at least such has long been the accepted local tradition, though the passage has not been discovered.

At the time of the Reformation the Bispegaard was confiscated and annexed, with other Church property, to the Crown, and though it became the residence of the Lutheran Bishop, it was held by tenure from the King, and in 1589 was occupied by Kristen Mule, the Burgomaster. This accounts, to some extent, for its having been chosen as the temporary home of the Princess Anna while she lived in Oslo, since there was no other royal dwelling in the locality. Frederick IV., who reigned from 1700 till 1730, sold the property to one of the nobles at his Court, but after he had signed the deed and obtained the purchase-money he repented of his bargain, and destroyed the document, and the price was not refunded to the would-be purchaser until after litigation protracted over two years. The name of the Bispegaard was transferred to the new Bishop's Palace, which was erected after the Reformation at a short distance to the north-east, at the corner of St. Halvard's Gade and Egedes Gade, and is still the residence of the Bishop. The old Palace then came to be known as the Ladegaard. In 1814 the widow of a Norwegian General was

propriatrix of a ship which the Government of the time urgently required, and the Crown property of the Ladegaard was transferred to her in exchange for the vessel. Since that time it has passed through the hands of various private proprietors.

Having settled satisfactorily the locality where the marriage took place, I returned to Christiania University to study the 'Contemporary Account' of it. While strolling through the Archæological Department in the University Museum, Professor Rygh, the accomplished Curator, directed my attention to a curious relic of the Royal Visit to Norway. It is an oblong wooden tablet, 12 inches by 9 inches or thereby, with an inscription in gold letters on a black ground. Three hundred years ago it was affixed to a pew in the old Marien Kirke, of Tönsberg to commemorate the sojourn of James VI. in that ancient burgh. Tönsberg contests with Bergen the honour of being the oldest town in Norway. It was certainly a thriving place in the time of Harold Haarfagra, and continued to prosper until 1536, when a terrible conflagration destroyed the greater part of the town, and it had not regained its importance when King James visited it fifty years later. The old Marienkirke, in which the King worshipped during his stay there, was a boulder-built structure of unknown antiquity. It survived the assaults of time for many centuries, but had at length to go down before the march of progress and civilization. It seems that about twenty years ago the civic rulers found the Market-place too small for their requirements, and as the old Kirke encroached upon the space, these Wise Men of Gotham determined to remove it. The walls that had withstood the shock of many a fierce storm could not resist the blasting powder and dynamite which it was found necessary to use for the separation of the firmly-cemented stones; and the Marienkirke became a thing of the past. The market-place was enlarged, a modern architectural atrocity took the position of the venerable old Kirke, the Burgomaster and the Corporation moved unanimous votes of thanks to each other, and the Tönsbergers have been happy ever after. Fortunately this little painted wooden board was preserved to record an incident in the life of the Scottish King which has

hitherto been unknown. The quaint old inscription is as follows:—

*Anno 1589, S. Martens dag som vor den xi dag Novemb. som da kom paa een Tisdag kom Høyborne Første och Herre Herr Jakob Stuart Konning udi Skotland hid til byen: Och den 23 Sondag efter Trinitatis som vor den 16 dag Novemb: stoid Hans Raade udi denne Stoel och hörde Skotsk Prædicken aff den 23 psalme 'Herren er min hyrde etc.' Huilken M. David Lenz Prædicant udi Lîth da prædikede emellom 10 och 12.*

Anno 1589, St. Martin's Day, which was the 11th day of November, and fell upon Tuesday, came the high-born Prince and Lord, James Stuart, King of Scotland, to this town, and on the 23rd Sunday after Trinity, which was the 16th of November, his Grace was sitting in this pew and heard a Scottish sermon preached from the 23rd Psalm, 'The Lord is my Shepherd, etc.,' which Magister David Lindsay, Minister in Leith, preached between 10 and 12.

But for this interesting relic and for the confirmation of it afforded by the 'Contemporary Account' of the marriage, we should never have known that King James spent a week in the old town of Tönsberg, and endured a two-hours' sermon from the respected minister of Leith. It is probable that the King resided at the mansion of Jarlsberg, Hovedgaard, an ancient royal residence about half a mile from Tönsberg, as his portrait, painted at the time, still adorns its walls.

The document which throws most light upon the incidents of the marriage was not unknown to some of the Norwegian historians. The late P. A. Munch (1810-1863) who was one of the founders of the modern school of Scandinavian historians, transcribed and edited the manuscript in 1851, for one of the volumes of the *Norske Samlinger* (Vol. I., pp. 450-512), and O. A. Overland alludes to it in the *Illustreret Norges Historie* upon which he is at present engaged. The following details are translated principally from the account which Herr Overland supplied to me, with some additional particulars of the journey of the King derived from other sources in Christiania. So far as I am aware the incident has never been hitherto related by any Scottish historian with the same fulness of detail:—

In order to treat with Scotland about the redemption of the Norwegian colonies of Orkney and Shetland, which islands



were pledged in security for the dowry of King Christian the First's daughter, Margarita, a Danish embassy, consisting of Manderus Parsberg, Nils Belov, and Dr. Nicolaus Theophilus arrived in Edinburgh in 1584. Every one knew, however, that such could not be the only object of their mission. Where should the Danish-Norwegian Government get sufficient money for that purpose? Everywhere it was rumoured that their principal errand was to ask in marriage the hand of the Scottish King, James VI., who at that time was eighteen years of age, for Elizabeth, the daughter of Frederick II. That the rumour spoke the truth is sure enough; but the Danish King and his diplomatists had counted without reckoning Queen Elizabeth of England, who was much occupied with Scottish affairs, whether in connection with a Catholic power, or with the most powerful of the Protestant Courts—that of Denmark and Norway. She had managed to obtain the promise of the Scottish Chancellor, Lord Arran, that he would prevent the Scottish King from being married until he reached his majority and had attained the age of twenty-one years. Queen Elizabeth did, consequently, not object to the coldness shown the Danish Embassy both by the Scottish populace and aristocracy; and the Danes left the country in anger, after having broken the negotiations with the Scottish Court, threatening that the Danish King would certainly look upon the contempt with which they were treated as a personal insult. That this menace was not quite empty is shown by the fact that shortly afterwards the Princess Elizabeth was betrothed to Henry, Duke of Braunschweig.

Already before King James VI. had reached his majority, he had succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Lord Arran, and although he did not altogether free himself from the influence of Queen Elizabeth, he refused to accept as bride the lady she had chosen for him, viz., a Princess of Navarre, and he was inclined more than ever towards the Danish Court, possibly owing to the debt in which Scotland was involved with that country. After repeated treaties about the marriage, and after the father of the Princess Anna, (who was the second daughter of Frederick II.), had ultimately given his consent to a union,

King James sent his Lord-Marshall, Count Keith, to Denmark, with a splendid suite, to arrange the marriage contract. He arrived at Copenhagen in August, 1589, and the Danish Court, which had at first treated the project very coldly, became anxious enough as soon as the Scottish deputation landed. Frederick II. had died in the April of the preceding year, and the arrangements devolved upon the Dowager Queen, who set about preparing the outfit for the bride. Her time was entirely occupied with the buying of silks, bargaining with jewel-merchants, or pushing on a corps of 500 tailors, who every day had their hands full of work in order to get the royal bridal dresses ready. So busy was every one about the Court, from the highest to the lowest, that it was thought that the bride would arrive in Scotland before the King would have time even to have his wedding trousers ready, or to have a house prepared for her.

The fleet that was to convey the daughter of the Danish-Norwegian King across the sea consisted of twelve men-of-war with brass guns, under the command of Admiral Peder Munk. Its equipment was not, however, looked after by the Admiral, but by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the renowned Kristofer Valkendorf, who was not on the best terms with the Admiral, and that the outfit was anything but what it should have been is certain enough. Shortly after the vessels had left on 1st (or 5th, according to another account) September, 1589, they were overtaken by a heavy gale, during which several of them sprung a leak and could only be kept afloat by excessive pumping, and some of the ships were driven out of their course. After a long battle with contrary winds the vessels were carried to the west coast of Norway, where they ran for shelter into Flekkerø, and remained there for six days. As the time seemed very long for them, in order to relieve the tedium Admiral Peder Munk gave a grand party. After this sojourn here he again set sail, but with no more luck. The vessels met with a succession of gales and contrary weather, and when at last the vessel on board which the royal bride was accommodated, sprung a leak they had again to run into Flekkerø to have the ship repaired. The Princess went ashore

here and took lodgings at a farm. After the vessel had been put in order the fleet again set sail, but with the same result as before. For the third time they had to put back to Flekkerö. The Admiral then grew tired of the whole affair, and resolved to return home again with the Princess. The Scottish Envoy, however, would not listen to this. He got it arranged that the Princess should proceed to Oslo and remain there during the winter. The fleet then separated, three vessels accompanying the Princess in her voyage along the Norwegian coast, while the larger portion returned to Copenhagen. On the way to Oslo the royal convoy called at Jomfruland (by Arendal), Langesund, and Sandefjord.

At last, on 25th October, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the royal cortege arrived at Oslo, after having been fifty days on the voyage from Copenhagen, and her Royal Grace was received with the most humble respect and reverence. Congregated on the quay were all the people of quality from Oslo and the neighbourhood. Besides the clergy of the district, there were also the Viceroy and Commander of the Fortress of Akershus, Axel Gyldenstjerne, Ove Juel of Kieldgaard, the Commander of Bratsberg County, Hans Pedersen of Sem, and Peder Iversen of Fritzs and Brunla, while among the ladies were the Hon. Karen Gyldenstjerne, Dame Anna Skinckel (Hans Pedersen's wife), Dame Margrethe Brede (wife of Peder Iversen), Dame Dorrete Juel and Miss Ulfried, sister of the Hon. Peder Iversen, who all had the honour of shaking hands with the Princess the moment she landed at the quay. The citizens were all placed along the street, each one bearing his gun. The Princess was conveyed to the old Bispegaard at Oslo, and as she entered the Bishop's Palace the citizens fired their guns, as an offering of their deepest respect and most humble salutation. At 5 o'clock the Princess said good-night, and retired to her rooms, and the Viceroy Gyldenstjerne accompanied the Scottish delegate, Count Keith, to his lodgings with Andrew the Tailor, who was afterwards Burgomaster of Oslo.

As soon as the Danish squadron had arrived at Copenhagen, a dispute arose between the Admiral, Peder Munk, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Kristofer Valkendorf, which was

only settled in a Court of Law in 1590. Peder Munk, who was ill-pleased with the bad character given him in consequence of the unsuccessful voyage of the fleet, wished to accuse Valkendorf, who had the supervision of the fleet and of the royal ship-building yards, of incompetence and carelessness in the execution of his duties. Valkendorf blamed the skippers, and the carpenters and workmen would likely have had to suffer had not some old women come to their assistance. The latter confessed that by witchcraft they had brought about the mishap to the fleet. One of them called Karen Weaver stated that she had sent her messenger 'Langvinus,' accompanied by two imps, named 'Pil Horseshoe' and 'Pretty' (*Pil-Heftesko og Smuk*), after the fleet, hidden in an empty beer-barrel, and these creatures had held fast the keels of the vessels and kept them back. The Court ultimately refused to take this evidence, and the case was dismissed.

The Princess felt her detention in Oslo to be tedious and irksome. She endured it for six days, but then she could bear it no longer, and resolved to return home to Denmark. Unlooked-for news reached her now. A message came from King James VI., bringing letters stating that he, on 3rd November, had arrived in Norway with five vessels. His Majesty had also been forced to take shelter at Flekkerö, and had gone ashore and taken lodgings at the same farm where the Princess had resided when there shortly before. On the 7th of November he set sail from Flekkerö, and on the following day arrived at Jomfruland, where the vessels took to the open sea, ran into Langesund, and went from there to Tönsberg, where he stayed six nights. From Tönsberg the King continued his journey overland to Sande, Lier, and Asker. At the latter place he was met by the Viceroy, Axel Gyldenstjerne, with the Danish, Norwegian, and Scottish nobility, who accompanied the King to Oslo, where he made his entrance on the 19th of November, 1589, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The King was then a tall, thin gentleman, with deep-set eyes, and when he arrived he was dressed in a red velvet coat ornamented with gold pieces, and a black velvet cloak lined with sable fur. The escort, preceded by heralds, conducted the King to the old Bispe-

gaard where the Princess resided. As soon as the King perceived his bride he sprang towards her and offered to kiss her, but she refused this courtesy at first as not being the Danish custom. They spent about half an hour together, and during this time the Bishop, Jens Nilsen, and the whole of the clergy stood outside the house of Andrew the Tailor, where the King was to lodge, awaiting the arrival of His Majesty. When the King came to the spot where the Bishop was standing he stopped, and the Bishop stood forth and gave him his hand in the most respectful manner, and pronounced a short oration in Latin, in which he wished His Majesty all prosperity. The King uncovered his head, and then placed his hat on his head again, and noted carefully what the Bishop said. When the oration was finished His Majesty again took his hat off and shook the Bishop by the hand, and thanked him most respectfully. He also exchanged compliments with the Burgomaster, Oluf Glad.

On the 23rd of November, 1589, the marriage of the King and the Princess Anna was celebrated in the Ladegaard, Kristen Mule's house, with as much pomp and ceremony as the times and place could afford. The grand hall of the house was ornamented with expensive carpets. On the floor of the innermost part of the hall there was spread a red cloth, on which were placed two royal chairs covered with red damask and furnished with red velvet cushions, intended for the exalted bridal pair. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Danish-Norwegian nobility went in procession to the house of Andrew the Tailor to fetch the King. With him in the centre they returned to Kristen Mule's house, where they were received at the entrance with flourishes of trumpets. The suite then entered the hall, and the King, passing through them, went forward and stood on the red cloth, with his arms akimbo (*med begge Hænderne udi Siden*). Immediately afterwards the bride appeared and placed herself at his side. The ceremony commenced with *musica oralis*, but very short, and then the Royal Court Preacher, David Lindsay, minister at Leith, whom the King had brought over with him, delivered the marriage speech in French. After this short sermon was



finished and they had mutually pledged their love and faith in marriage, they joined hands, and the blessing was pronounced, with a short prayer that the Almighty, in whose name they had been joined, would bestow all spiritual and bodily blessings on them, and that the marriage would, to the honour of His holy name, prove a blessing both for themselves and for the two countries. After this part of the ceremony was finished the Bishop of Oslo, Jens Nilsen, stood forth and delivered an admonitory sermon in Danish, treating of marriage and its significance in the Christian life. The whole ceremony was completed by the singing of a hymn, after which the newly-wedded Queen with her ladies and maids-of-honour, left the hall. Coming forward, the Bishop, Jens Nilsen, saluted the King in a Latin congratulatory speech, to which the King replied, *Hoc scio te ex corde precari*, and the Chancellor, who stood by his side, said, *Certe ex corde precatur*, and the King added, *Hoc lubens accipio*, after which he left with his suite. The whole ceremony lasted about one hour.

During the month succeeding the marriage the royal pair remained in Oslo, spending the time in festivity. Two days after the wedding the Bishop gave a grand party to the clergymen of the Court of the King and Queen, and the same night the King gave a banquet to the Scottish noblemen. Eight days after the marriage a party consisting of fifty Scotsmen set out for Tönsberg, and going on board their ships, which had been laid up in the harbour there, set sail for Scotland. On 3rd December, the King, with his attendants, accompanied the Danish noblemen on a hunting expedition to the Island of Hovedoen (the Head Island, about one mile from Oslo) which was preserved as a hunting-ground for the Viceroy; and amongst the noble Danes of the party were Steen Brahe, Axel Gyldenstjerne, Henning Gjöye, and Ove Juel. When not engaged in festivities the King and Queen spent most of their time in gambling, both of them being passionate card-players. On one occasion Bishop Jens Nilsen was kept waiting for more than an hour before he was admitted to an audience to which he had been summoned, as no one dared to interrupt the play.

While the King remained at Oslo the Bishop had especially ingratiated himself with him, and was held in high esteem for his great knowledge. On 16th December the King sent two gilded silver dishes as a present to the Bishop; and on another occasion he sent his portrait sculptured on a gold piece. When the Bishop thanked the King for all his kindness, His Majesty drank to him in a cup of wine, and when he had filled it and emptied it a second time he presented the cup to the Bishop—an act of generosity such as he had never been known to do before.

The departure of the royal couple from Oslo took place on the 22nd of December. Already in the early morning a multitude of people had gathered in order to bid good-bye to the stranger King and his noble wife. Some time had to elapse before the cortege could depart, as besides the suite of Scottish noblemen, the Viceroy, Axel Gyldenstjerne, also had to join the company. At last everything was ready for the departure when at 8 o'clock the sun showed himself above the Ekeberg. As they were about to start the King stood up in his sledge and bade the people good-bye both in the Scots and the Danish language. Soon the party had left the town of Oslo behind them. The route led them through Smaal-enene and into Baahuslen (which then belonged to Norway). Nothing remarkable occurred until they arrived at Quille in Baahuslen. Here a disciple of Luther, the old, blind Gjeddä (*Gædda*) was parish minister, while one of his sons acted as his assistant. Gjeddä, who wore a long white beard, was with difficulty moved to go up and pay his compliments to the exalted guests; but as soon as the King saw him he showed so little respect to the old man that he began to laugh at him. 'Dear Sir,' exclaimed the aged priest, 'now I see I have lived too long.' He asked to be led out of the hall, and never left his room again till the royal guests had departed. On the 29th of December the travellers arrived at the Mansion of Holme, where the nobleman Peter Bagge resided. Here Henry Gyldenstjerne, Commander of Baahus, met the royal party. The limited accommodation of the lonely mansion house was insufficient for the large company. Korfit Wiffert, Com-

mander of Malmöhus, Jorgen Brahe, Governor of Landskrona, and Sten Bilde, were lodged in the room called the 'Earth-parlour,' and in the large hall of the mansion there were 26 beds prepared for the Scottish gentlemen. The journey was continued on the following day through Uddevalla to Baahus Castle, where the travellers arrived about dinner-time on New Year's Day, 1590, and remained for several days.

On Sunday, 4th January, there were delivered three different sermons in the Castle,—one in German for the Princess Anna; one in Danish for the Commander and the Danish noblemen, by Michael Jenssön Bartse, parish priest of the place; and one in Scottish for King James and his followers. When the Danish service began, the Commander of Baahus, Henry Gyldenstjerne, went up to the altar and told Michael to preach as short a sermon as possible on the Gospel for the day, and this order was obeyed. After the sermon was delivered, however, he was much shocked when the Commander, without warning, ordered the wax candles to be removed from the altar, as the Scottish Presbyterians looked upon them as an abominable sign of popery. In very humble words the minister remonstrated that this act, according to his view, was a breach of the Lutheran freedom of religion. The Commander, however, paid no attention to these remonstrances. As soon as the King's chair was placed and other preparations finished, the King and his Court entered the Kirke, but without proper order or any distinction of person. It was specially noted that the King himself did not remove his hat or put it on again, but got one of his pages to do it. After the services were finished dinner was served, and at the table the toasts of the King, the Queen, and some other noble persons were drunk, each toast accompanied with six cannon shots. The signals for going to and from the table were given by buglers. The night was spent in dancing and gaiety. It had originally been arranged to start from Baahus the following day—Holy Three Kings' Day—but a heavy snow-storm prevented the departure, and the Queen was very unwell. The departure was then postponed till the day after, although the weather was very bad and the Queen still indisposed. But the Commander had

his own reasons for hurrying on the departure. At noon the guests left the Castle, the King driving in a sledge covered with black velvet and adorned with silver nails, and drawn by two chestnut-coloured young horses; the Queen in a reclining position in another sledge, while the cannons on the walls of the Castle thundered the last good-bye from Norway. The borders were soon reached, and here a Swedish escort consisting of 600 well-equipped horsemen met the royal travellers and accompanied the party to Holland, where they put up at Vardberg Castle. After a lengthened stay here they passed into Denmark.

It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the value of this 'Contemporary Account,' or to point out that it gives us a curiously intimate glimpse of an episode in the life of James VI. which has hitherto been very obscure. The historian acquainted with the Records of the Privy Council will readily recognize the Steno Brahe and Apil Gudlingstarre, who were specially rewarded by presents of silver vessels out of the King's own 'copburde,' as the Steen Brahe and Axel Gyldenstjerne who figure so prominently in this story. It is interesting also to note that the Charter whereby the King granted Dunfermline Abbey and lands to the Queen as a 'morrowing-gift' was dated from the Castle of Croneberg; and that this Steen Brahe came to Scotland to take possession of these and other lands for Her Majesty, and remained for some time in this country. That King James really enjoyed this highly festive trip may be assumed from the narrative. The letter which he wrote to Alexander, Lord Spynie, 'from the Castel of Croneberg, where we are drinking and driving ower in the auld manner,' is well known. It was probably after a heavy night of festivity that he wrote another letter (quoted by Calderwood) to Robert Bruce, in which, referring to his return, he says:—'I behoved to come home like a drunken man amongst them, as the prophet sayeth; which would weill keepe decorum in comming out of so drunken a countrie as this is.' Possibly 'the Scot abroad' who wanders to Christiania will spare a brief hour to visit the Ladegaard, and see the place where the wedding of the son of Queen Mary and the father of Charles I. was celebrated.

A. H. MILLAR.

## ART. VII.—THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE.

*Fourth Lecture.*

THE three Scandinavian countries may be taken together as constituting a single province with respect to race as well as to language. Denmark probably became peopled a little earlier than Sweden, and perhaps Southern Sweden earlier than Norway; but we have remains of the men of the stone period from all of them, though very few from Norway. Those who think, as most do, that the Lapps, or a people akin to them, were the earliest inhabitants of Norway and Sweden, point to the fact that the modern Lapps exercise great secretiveness with regard to the burial of their dead, as a reason why the resting-places of their supposed ancestors are very rarely discovered.

The Swedish skulls of the stone age are elongated, and resemble the Graverow type of Germany, but among them are said to be about 10 per cent. of short round skulls, generally thought to resemble those of Lapps, and to indicate admixture of races. In Denmark I am not aware that the kitchen-middens have ever yielded a perfect skull; but there are many in the Museum at Copenhagen from cists and stone-galleries. They vary in length: some of them attain to brachycephaly, but they are mostly characterised by ruggedness of form, and particularly by the great development of the superciliary or brow-ridges. In this and in outline as viewed sideways they much resemble those of the bronze race in Britain, but are not generally so wide: they also resemble the Sion type of Switzerland, which seems to have been that of the Gallic Helvetii. Some fine examples came from Borreby, and the type is usually known by that name.

Unfortunately, the Danish archæologists seem to have been singularly unsuccessful in finding or procuring skulls of the bronze and early iron periods. Those they have are extraordinarily long and narrow, but they are too few to generalize upon. Virchow has remarked that the old stone-type seems



to have continued to exist in Denmark, and is pretty common now-a-days: this is pretty much what one finds in most countries; either the influence of local agencies continues to work in the same direction on the skull-form, or else the original race, the autochthonic if any race is so, having had time to assimilate itself to the conditions, and to acquire potency in breeding true, and being perhaps favoured by social conditions which I have before spoken of, outlasts its conquerors or other newcomers, and once more acquires predominance.

The only skull found in Norway which is with absolute certainty referred to the stone period, that of Svelrik, is precisely of the form just now in question, but its breadth index is only 76.4, height 74.41. Skulls of this type still occur among the modern Norwegians, but not very commonly. They are not like those of modern Lapps: as Dr. Arbo says, we don't know what sort of heads the Lapps of those days had; but plenty of skulls much *more* like those of Lapps have been found in Germany, Belgium and France; for example, some of those Dupont found at Furfooz near Dinant; apparently also the ancient round skulls of Sweden are of this class.

Montelius, one of the best known of several able Swedish archæologists, is of opinion that there is no evidence to shew any change of race in that country since the stone period: he thinks, that is, that the ancient long-headed race that first entered the country after the small round-headed Lapps or Finns has always remained there undisturbed. Aspelin, on the other hand, thinks that the Roxalani, those mighty men in scale-armour who came into contact with the Romans on the Danube, were the ancestors of the true Swedes as distinguished from the Goths; that they dwelt somewhere east of the Baltic, and crossed over in order to escape from the Huns. This theory would suit well with the old beliefs about Asgard and Woden; and I believe the Finns call the Swedes Ruotsi—Ruotsi-alainen,—Red-men. But the names of Roxalanian kings, known to the Romans, have not a very Gothic sound: they are Tascius and Rhescuporius.\*

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\* But Tassilo was a Duke of Bavaria, some centuries later.

Any ethnological changes in Scandinavia during the historic period, which here does not reach very far back, must have been small. Ugrians from Bjarmaland, fleeing from the Mongols, as already mentioned, have settled in the north; and other Finns, the Quaens, have followed them: the Swedes have gradually colonised their own territory, and the Norwegians the higher and inner dales; the Danes have receded a little in the south, while Frisians, Low Germans, even Wends, have advanced: but the important movements have been those of emigration; from Sweden to Russia, from Denmark and Norway to Iceland, Scotland, England, Ireland, Normandy and elsewhere, aye, even to America.

Likely enough the physical types may have changed a little, with the departure of the most energetic and adventurous part of the population, including probably an undue proportion of the chieftain caste. There is an old document somewhere, quoted by Mallet or Dasent, which describes the nobles as fair-haired, the churls red-haired, the thralls black-haired, and which, as well as many of the stories about trolls, seems to point to the expulsion or subjugation of a primitive dark race.

As for the present conditions, we know more, thanks to Dr. Arbo and Sergeant Westly, about the Norwegians, than about the Swedes or even the Danes. Dr. Arbo's maps of stature, of hair-colour and of head-breadth, have a very confused, jumbled look, due, as he explains, to the fact that the country is divided so trenchantly, by mountains and forests, into districts which have little communication with each other. The average stature at 22 years seems to be 1680 to 1700 millimeters, or scarcely 5 ft. 7 inches, less than I should have expected: in some districts it rises to 1730 (5ft. 8 in.) The skull is dolichous (index after correction 74-75,) in a number of districts chiefly in the interior. Dr. Arbo says that the prevalence of long heads concurs generally with that of a high stature, and very blond hair, a more advanced social condition, and sometimes aristocratic, but certainly conservative, tendencies. He also says that prognathism goes oftener with broader heads. Brachykephals (78.5 to 81), occupy especially the coasts and the south-west. Near the head of the Sognefiord, also, some

dales are inhabited by a population with rather broad heads (78·5) and dark complexions, with great physical and intellectual activity.

It is difficult, however, to make out much about colour: on the whole the hair seems to be lighter in the south and west than in the north and south-west. It is lighter in the south-west in Sweden, where West Gothland and Scania are said to produce the fairest people. In Dalecarlia, where Quatrefages and Hamy think they find the Cromagnon type, the hair, I understand, is often dark. I found the breadth-index of a number of Swedes 79·2, or after correction for life and the integuments 77·2, which I believe is about where it is put by Retzius and other Swedish savans.

In stature the Swedes probably equal any European nation; but except the American statistics of Dr. Baxter, in which are included a large number of Swedish soldiers, I do not think there are any published measurements on a large scale. Baxter's average was 5 feet 6·9 inches; Gould's, on a smaller basis, was higher.

The Danes are lower in stature than is generally supposed, and lower than the Frisians and Saxons of Sleswick, to the south of them. In Thy, one of the districts where it is highest, it is but 1670 millimeters on the average, equal to something less than 5 ft. 6 in. As the subjects are conscripts, probably one may allow an inch for subsequent growth. In Wendsyssel and part of Zealand it is 165·9, or 5 ft. 5½ in. There are also local differences in colour; evidently, as in some other countries, including our own, many more women than men have dark eyes. On the whole, blue or grey eyes and rather light brown hair prevail. As to the form of the head, I have no figures but my own, gathered from only 28 subjects; I make the index, corrected, to be 78·5, but this may probably be in excess.

It will be seen that the phenomena in Scandinavia are consistent with the original occupation of these countries by a dark race or races, with skulls tending, at least, to be broad, and with the subsequent arrival from the south of a fairer race with long heads, whose type assumed preponderance.

There seems little reason to suppose there has been any subsequent increase of breadth except to the small extent which incorporation of primitive strata of population would imply. As for the Swedes, there is a good deal of indistinct evidence to connect them with the Lithuanian stock, and it may be observed that their present breadth-index, 77, is about equal to that of both ancient and modern Letts.

The Icelanders must not pass unmentioned. The ancient colonists of this everyway remarkable island included a large proportion of the noble caste. It has been suggested, also, that the captives they brought from Ireland, and occasional intermarriages with the Irish and Scottish Gaels, gave them the ray of poetic imagination which sometimes brightens their wonderful but sanguinary Sagas. We know from these Sagas what manner of men they were in personal appearance. They had the same varieties of complexion and hair-colour that we have, and in some cases Irish features came out with Irish blood; thus Kjartan had dark hair, and Skarphedin, the son of Njal, was the most soldierly and active of men, but he had an ugly mouth, and his teeth stuck out.

The modern Icelanders are big fair men; the only skull I can find mentioned is one at Gottingen, with indices of 72.3 and 72.9. Some measurements made for me by Dr. Hjaltelin come out a little broader. In Germany and Central Europe, as elsewhere, the very oldest skulls seem to be dolichocephalic; in this case they are of the Canstatt type, and one of them is the famous Neanderthaler. Several broad skulls also have been found, which have very respectable pretensions to primitive antiquity.

The crania of the neolithic period throughout the whole region under consideration, are in great majority also dolichocephalic. Perhaps I should make a partial and doubtful exception with regard to the pile-dwellers on the Swiss lakes. But generally speaking, from the North Sea and the Baltic to the Danube and the Alps, and eastward through Bohemia to the Vistula and the Niemen, the prevailing form is long. In many of the Hügelgräber, the dolmens and tumuli, a form

occurs with greater breadth and roundness, but still averaging under 80.

We have no history for Germany until well into the iron age, nor anything but probabilities based on philological arguments. I am disposed to look on the tenants of the Hügelgraber as Gallic, but this is but my own private conjecture. From Tacitus's account, the Poles (Lygii, Lekhs) were already in Poland in his time, but the modern Poles have broad square heads (82.4).

The Germans had already begun to overpass the Rhine and the Danube when the arrival of the Romans checked their expansion, and determined a flux of Kelts, Rhaetians, Pannonians and others, mostly of the broadheaded division of Europeans, to the frontier, whose descendents are still extant.

Meanwhile the mass of tall, blond, vigorous barbarians multiplied, seethed and fretted behind the barrier thus imposed. Tacitus and several other classic authors speak of the remarkable uniformity in their appearance; how they were all tall and handsome, with fierce blue eyes and yellow hair. Humboldt remarks the tendency we all have, to see only the single type in a strange foreign people, and to shut our eyes to the differences among them. Thus some of us think sheep all alike; but the shepherd knows better; and many think all Chinamen are alike, whereas they differ, in reality, quite as much as we do, or rather more. But with respect to the ancient Germans, there certainly was among them one very prevalent form of head, and even the varieties of feature which occur among the Marcomans, for example, on Marcus Aurelius's column, all seem to oscillate round one central type.

This is the Graverow type of Ecker, the Hohberg type of His and Rutimeyer, the Swiss anatomists. In it the head is long, narrow, (say from 70 to 76 in breadth-index) as high or higher than it is broad, with the upper part of the occiput very prominent, the forehead rather high than broad, often domeshaped, often receding, with prominent brows, the nose long, narrow and prominent, the cheekbones narrow and not prominent, the chin well marked, the mouth apt to be prominent in women. In Germany persons with these characters



have almost always light eyes and hair. Now comes a problem, one of several in German anthropology. This Graverow type is almost exclusively what is found in the burying-places of the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries, whether of the Alemanni, the Bavarians, the Franks, the Saxons, or the Burgundians. Schetelig dug out a graveyard in southern Spain, which is attributed to the Visigoths. Still the same harmonious elliptic form, the same indices, breadth 73, height 74.

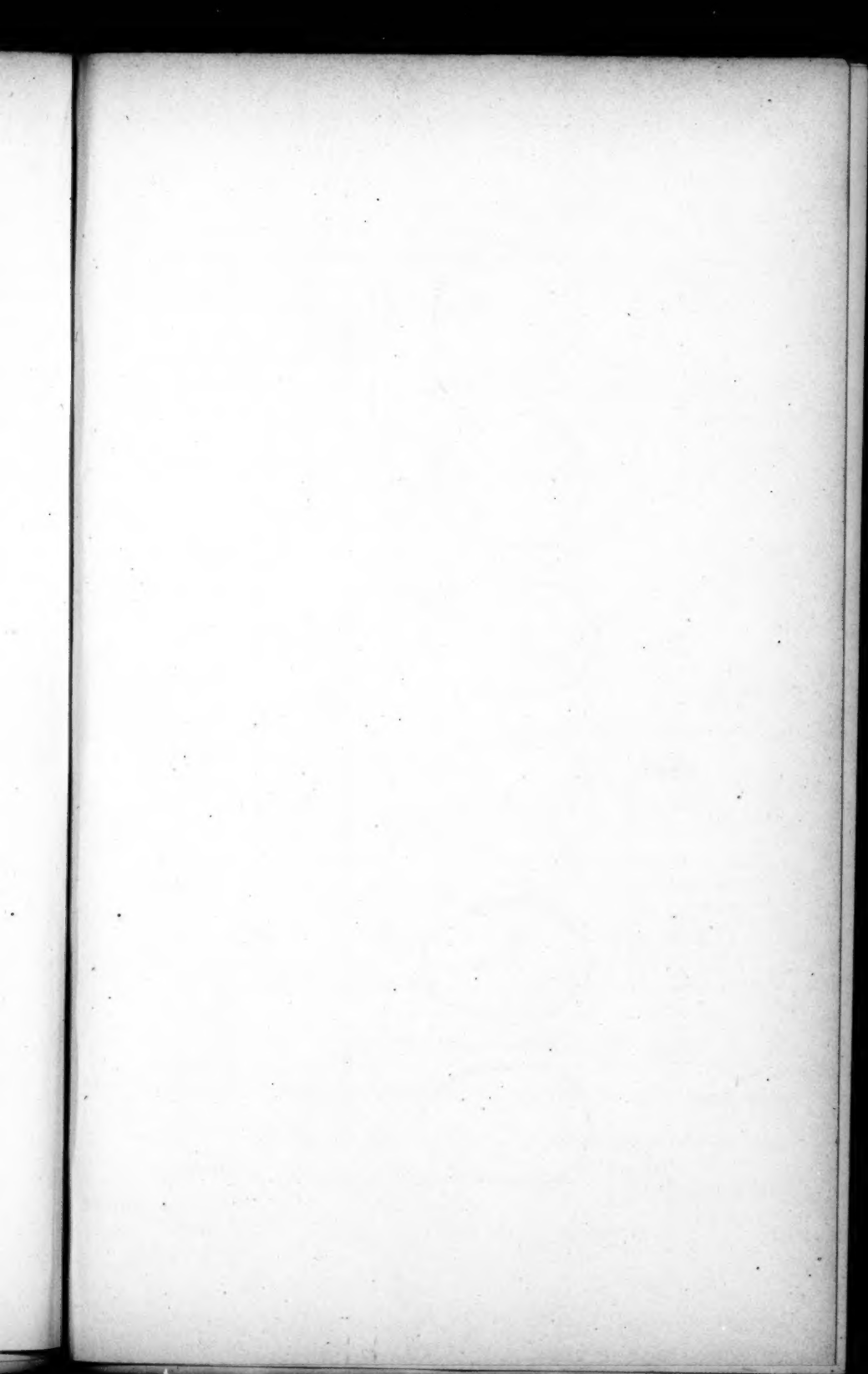
But Ecker, proceeding from the examination of the ancient Alemanni to that of the modern Swabians, was surprised to find that from among them the Graverow type had almost disappeared, and that a short broad squarish form, with flattened occiput, had taken its place. Then Von Hölder investigated the Wirtembergers. They are mostly Swabians, too; but probably the Alemanni occupied this country before they spread into Baden and the Brisgau; and so there are more blonds in Wirtemberg.

Accordingly Von Hölder found a small number of the true Germanic or Graverow heads, but also a few of the oblong form just mentioned, which he calls Rhoeto-Sarmatian, and once in a way a globular form, his true Turanian, while the majority is made up of various crosses between the three. Von Hölder wrote to me some time ago, saying that he much wished to come to England in order to see the true Germans, who are really stronger here than in Swabia, though in Franconia, a little further north, they are numerous. The average index of modern Wirtembergers is about 81.6. Von Hölder finds the long Germanic forms more prevalent among noblemen and burghers than among artizans and labourers.

It is difficult to dismiss Switzerland briefly. Its proto-historic inhabitants were Rhoetian in the east, Keltic-Helvetian in the west and north. What the pile-dwellers had been is a subject by itself, which, for the present, I will leave to Dr. Monro.

His and Rutimeyer found four ancient types:

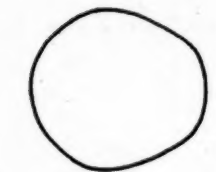
1. The Hohberg, which is Germanic, though they thought it Roman.



# EUROPEAN SKULL TYPES, -VERTICAL ASPECT.

Dolichocephalic.

Brachycephalic.



Elliptic.

Lozenge.

Pyriform.

British.

Sarmatic.

Turanian.

*GRAVEY TYPES.*

*PENTAGONAL.*

*NEOLITHIC.*

*OF VON HÖLDER.*

English?

Irish.

Iberian.

Rhætic.

Spherical.

Disentis.

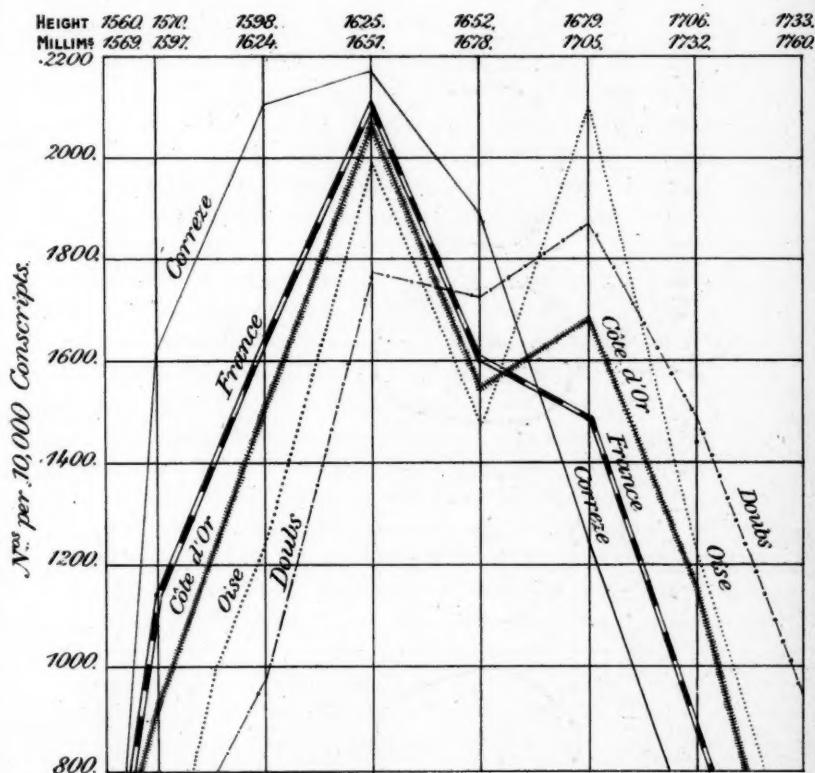
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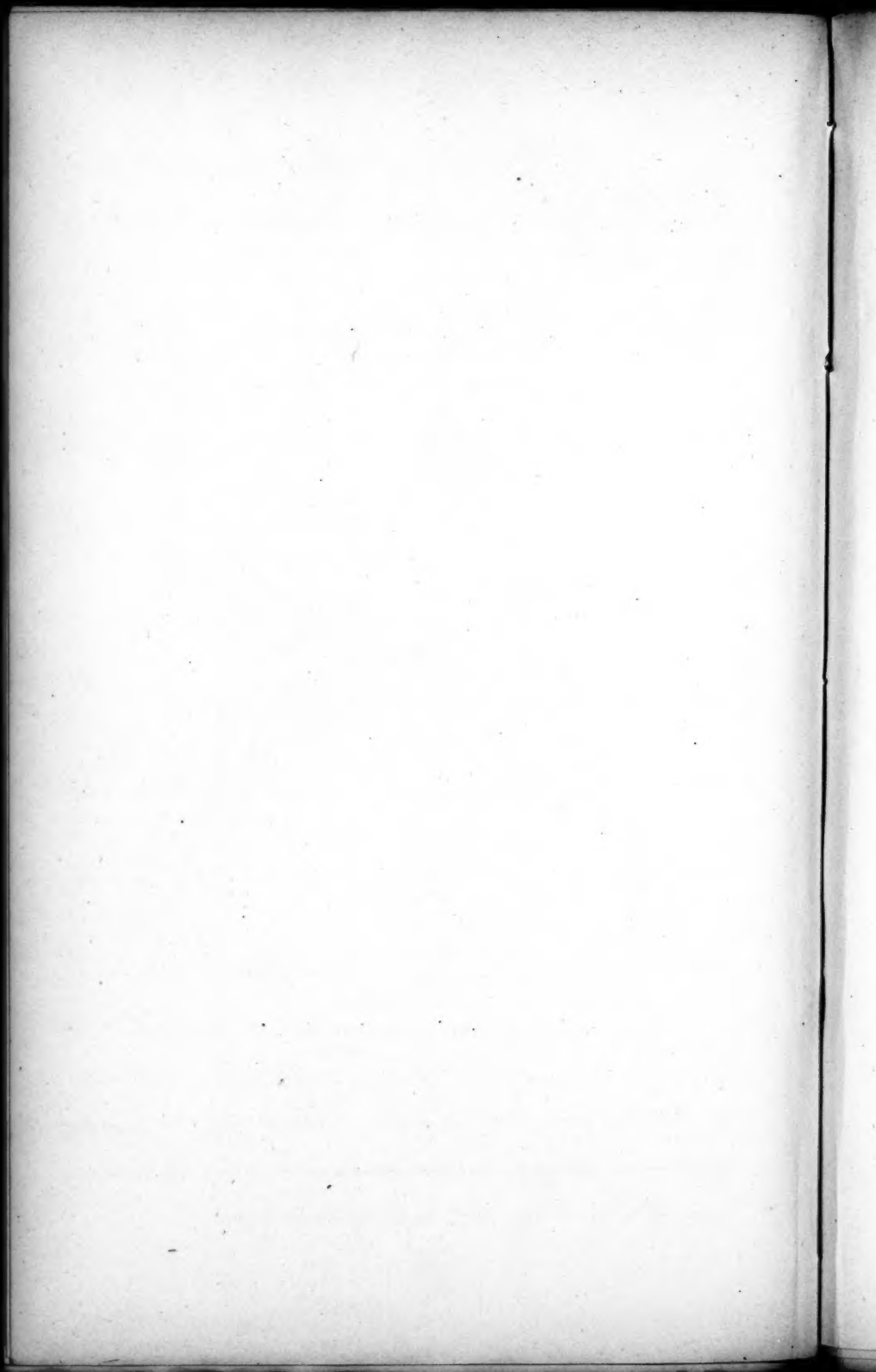
*HONBERG.*

Belair?

*Proportions of Conscripts per 10,000 from  
Boudin's & H. Blanc's figures for the years 1836 to 1840,  
inclusively.—*



*In the departments of Doubs & Oise,  
the taller race or races seem slightly to preponderate,  
in Côte d'Or the shorter, in France collectively the shorter,  
still more decidedly in Correze there is little indication of  
the presence of any but short races of men.—*





2. The Belair, which is Burgundian-German.
3. The Sion—large, longish but rounded, frowning, aquiline—very like the modern Walloon. Keltic-Helvetian.
4. The Disentis. Very short and broad, cuboid but for the narrowness of the forehead. Rhætian, Rhæto-Sarmatic of Von Hölder, Keltic form of some.

The Alemanni conquered and Germanized as to language the centre and north-east, but the Rhætians in the south-east were little touched. The Burgundians conquered the west, but did not change the language there, which is now French. The Disentis type of head is now-a-days in great majority. The skull-breadth which I found in two places was 83·6: in parts of the Grisons it is probably greater.

In Bavaria the proto-historic population may have been Keltic or Rhætian even north-east of the Danube, in the Upper Palatinate; recent discoveries at Hohenbuchel and elsewhere seem to indicate a non-Germanic population, with broadish heads and broad flat noses; but at least as early as the Roman occupation the pure Germans (Marcoman or Hermundurian, probably), began to come in. Franconia was probably Germanic from the first. Subsequently the Slavs from the Bohemian side settled largely in Upper and Middle Franconia.

Von Hölder's work done at Regensburg (Ratisbon) is most pregnant and suggestive. From the Roman cemeteries he obtained nine skulls dating from the second century, with a

breadth index of	...	...	...	...	...	79·4
From about A.D. 200, 8 skulls,	...	...	...	...	...	77·1
From the third century, 13 skulls,	...	...	...	...	...	77·4
From about A.D. 300, 10 skulls,	...	...	...	...	...	75·7
From the fourth century, 22 skulls,	...	...	...	...	...	75·1
And 50 skulls from an old Bavarian burying-ground of the sixth or seventh centuries, the Merovingian period,	...	...	...	...	...	73·8

I do not enter into particulars as to the other racemarks in these crania: in this instance at least they vary *pari passu* with the breadth-index. We have clearly a population of mixed Roman subjects, gradually being infiltrated by Ger-

mans, until, after the Roman dominion has come to an end, the Marcomanni, now called Bavarians, come in *en masse*.

Now look at the modern population. 193 skulls from the crypt of St. Michael's Church, mostly of the eighteenth, some of the seventeenth perhaps, gave an index of 83.16. The forms which Von Hölder calls Turanian, and which according to him scarcely appear at all in the earlier periods, constitute a very important element.

Now let us turn to Ranke, whose monograph on his countrymen, the Bavarians, is very important. He also finds for the modern Bavarians an index of 83. Large as this is, it is exceeded on the one hand among the people of Michelfeld in Upper Franconia, who are of Slave descent and dwell in a hilly district; and again in the Bavarian highlands and in the Tyrol generally, except in some valleys known to have been colonized by the Alemanni. There are places in the Tyrol where it rises to 85.

Ranke finds but one leading type in Bavaria proper, which he describes minutely, and which may be familiar to many who have never been in Bavaria or Tyrol, through the paintings of Defregger. It is the cuboid form, Von Holder's Rhaeto-Sarmatic, Kollmann's broad-headed long-faced type. But in Franconia, outside the old Roman boundary wall at Ebrach, whereas the average head-breadth sinks to 78.9, he finds nearly half the heads display a true Germanic type, though not exactly the Hohberg one; and the curve of breadth gives one maximum at 73 and another at 83.\*

What seems strangest is, that if we draw out a similar numerical curve corresponding to the indices of a large number of Bavarians, we do not find evidence of two unconformable, or at least as yet unconformed races. On the contrary, the curve is fairly regular. Ranke, who is a believer in external agencies and in transformation, and thinks that life among mountains in some unexplained way tends to shorten and widen the head, says that in the modern Bavarians a German face has been married to a brachykephalic braincase. He

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\* See illustrative diagram.

does not, I think, anywhere commit himself to the statement that this broad head represents another race; but most men would have no doubt about that. Anyhow, the mixture must be wonderfully complete, quite otherwise than in Wirtemberg, for Ranke finds that the average head-breadth in blonds and brunetts is precisely identical.

In Bohemia all the ancient skulls are long and narrow, some to an extraordinary degree; and this is the case in the neolithic and bronze ages also. There is something in the general contour of all those which Weisbach figures, which, though the measurements come out very much like those of Graverow Germans, makes me think them Galatic: they are less elliptic, more lozenge or coffin-shaped, the brows less arched and prominent. Moreover, Galatic they ought, I think, to be: the Boii, who were either Galatic or Keltic, or a mixture of the two, occupied Bohemia in those days. After them the Marcomanni, the ancestors of the Bavarians on the spear side, had a transitory occupation. The modern inhabitants, Czechs, *i.e.*, Slavs, have large, broad, cuboid skulls, with an average index of 83.6. I recollect asking Professor Rokitsky, five and thirty years ago, whether the Czechs were not brachycephalic. Rokitsky was himself a Bohemian, and he was evidently nettled by a question which he thought touched upon a weak point in his fellow-countrymen. 'Ah! well!' he said, 'they are a very clever people for all that.'

In Austria proper, and the German territories south of it, few very ancient crania have been found. Those of the famous early-iron age station of Hallstadt, in Lower Austria, have yielded, on an average of 7, an index of 73. They are probably Galatic; but the archæological history of the Hallstadt discoveries is still much debated.

Austria has been, ethnologically, a sandbank washed to and fro, east and west, by the tides; and these have been latterly tides of Bavarians on the one hand, and Avars and Magyars on the other, with a kind of by-wash of Slavs from north and south. The modern population is nominally German; but is apparently as mixed as might have been expected. Zuckerkandl found in different ossuaries the following respective breadth

indices :—84·7, 82·4, 81·7, 78·4. And Weisbach, who probably dealt with the Viennese, who are certainly more Germanized than the peasantry, puts the index at 81·1.

The highest index here, 84·7, is that of the mediæval and modern people of Hallstadt. And Zuckerkandl asserts confidently, after an exhaustive examination, that the cranial type of the inhabitants of Hallstadt has not varied since the 12th century. This looks something like a crucial instance. The Hallstadrians must surely have advanced somewhat in civilization and intellectual development since the 12th century; yet their heads are none the broader for it; on the other hand, it would be difficult to say they were much further advanced in the 12th century, an age of barbarism, than when they produced in prehistoric times, those beautiful and elaborate works in bronze and iron which we call Hallstadrian; yet their skulls grew wider in the interim by more than 11 per cent. Surely there was here a substitution of one race for another, not a mere development. And we may recollect that the very fountain of brachycephalism lies not far to the south, in Illyria.

Hungary is another seething place of races and nations, but from the character of its physical geography has always attracted equestrian and pastoral hordes. The most curious find of ancient skulls there has been that by Dr. Lipp, at Keszthely on the Plattensee. The conjectural period is the latter part of the 4th century. He found the long skulls of a tall stalwart people, evidently Germanic (Quadians or Vandals?) and those of another race, short-statured and robust, with curved legs and many signs of badly united fractures; their heads were long, foreheads low and narrow, occiputs broad, and cheekbones prominent. These Fligier takes to have belonged to the equestrian Sarmatians, (the Jazyges), and to show a mixture of Iranian with Ugrian or Ural-Altaic blood.

The modern Hungarians are a handsome people, of short stature, with round heads, broad cheekbones, and generally dark hair and eyes, and, I should say, with more of the

Turkish than of the Finnish aspect.\* The country of Jaszag by its name recalls the Sarmatian Jazyges just now mentioned, some remains of whom may perhaps still be constituents of its population.

Returning to the north of Germany, it may be repeated that as a general rule the skulls of prehistoric or early date are long, whether they are supposed from archæological evidence to be Germanic, Slavic, or Lithuanic. Great internal migrations have taken place in the historical period within the limits of North Germany, but no great immigration of any race not previously represented. Yet evidence seems to point to a change in the physical type.

The modern Poles, at least in the south, are a fair race on the whole, but of short stature, with broad heads (82.4).† All through Prussia the mixed Slavo-German race is said to incline to brachycephaly, though perhaps less so towards the coast. West of the Elbe, in Westphalia, for example, there seems to have been little change; but the Wends or Slavs in Luneburg run up to 82, as Slavs ought to do, though they be but a little isolated handful. The dwellers in the flat alluvial lands of Holland have as a rule rather broad flat heads, elliptic in the vertical aspect, cylindrical from behind, often somewhat prognathous. In Zealand, (South Beveland) the average of certain skulls disinterred from a drowned village, victims to the inundation of 1530, actually rises to 85, according to Sasse; and De Man of Middelburg finds something like it among the living.

Much discussion has arisen about these and such like facts. Virchow maintains the existence of a separate Frisian type, broader and flatter than the ordinary German descended from the Graverow men. Von Hölder disputes this. I can only say now what I have said already, that the conditions of soil, water, etc., in the islands and marshlands of Holland and Friesland might well be believed to influence the physical development.

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\* Ibn Fozlan says, 'Chazari Turcis (by which he means the Ugri) similes non sunt : nigrum capillum habent.'

† Majer and Kopernitsky.



The Beveland folk, however, may not improbably be the remains of an ancient tribe of brachycephals, driven into the islands by the Batavi, or by still earlier invaders.

As for colour, complexion, one can hardly look at Virchow's maps, the result of the gigantic inquest carried out under his direction on the school children, without coming to the conclusion that both latitude and race must have to do with it. Beginning with Sleswick, and then with the coast-line generally, one finds a pretty regular falling off in blond hair and blue eyes, and an increase in dark hair and brown eyes, as one gradually proceeds southwards. It is more when one looks into details that one recognises the influence of race, when one sees for example that Wurtemberg is fairer than Alsass and Bavaria, which were later colonized; and those who are acquainted with the minute history of the provinces of Germany can point you out numbers of instances of that kind, but not such sharp contrasts as that between the Flemings and Walloons.

Stature is another point of race difference. The Wends were not much darker than the old Germans, it would seem, but they were not so tall, while the Frisians were taller than the Danes and the Low Germans; and this difference follows them up in the parishes or cantons which they respectively colonized in Mecklenburg or further east. One investigator thinks that elevation of level has to do with elevation of stature; another thinks he can shew that rich soil is more operative; but they all agree that race *does* tell, and they can all give reasons for their belief.

One can see that the difference of latitude between Schleswig-Holstein and Bavaria may have something to do with the fact that the former has 80 per cent. of children fair-haired, and the latter only 54; (I do not say that it has, but that it may have); but surely it is not the cause of the Schleswig conscripts averaging 5 ft. 6.6 in., and the Bavarian conscripts only 5 ft. 4.3 in. In Thuringia again, about Erfurt, Reichel finds the conscripts average 1670 millimeters, (5 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.) That is for the Germanic Thuringians, but as one goes eastward there is a regular decline of stature as the Slavonic element increases, until about Halle, where the peasantry are

Germanized Slavs, the average is just under 5 ft. 5 in. Yet the Halle district is the most fruitful.

As for the permanence of hair-colour, let us look again at Bohemia. We know that the Germans, about the year 1000, regarded the Slavs as a people less fair than themselves, though it may be that this opinion did not refer to the northern Wends. And we know that Ibrahim ibn Jacub, a Jewish traveller, who wrote about A.D. 965, found the Bohemians swarthy, usually with black, seldom with light hair. Old Bohemian chroniclers contrast the black hair and beards of their countrymen with the light colours of the Saxons. Since then Bohemia has been largely colonized by Germans, chiefly from the fair Saxon, not from the darker Bavarian side. And now the schools are divided into Bohemian or Czech, German, and mixed. Well! the proportion borne by the number of children with dark hair to that of those with light hair, amounts in the—

	DARK.	LIGHT.
German schools to ... ..	718	to 1,000
In the Mixed schools to ... ..	1,398	„ 1,000
and in the Czech schools to ... ..	1,793	„ 1,000

And it is curious that of 35 Czechish districts the one which has the lowest proportion is called Deutsch Brod, German Brod, doubtless because there was once a Germany colony there, which has been Slavonized in course of time in point of language, but not in that of colour.

As France is the country in which anthropology has been most zealously cultivated, and whose own material has perhaps been best worked up, it is very difficult to compress my account of it within the necessary limits, and I shall avoid all discussion of difficult points. Belgium will be best included with France.

You may have gathered from an earlier lecture that before the neolithic period brachykephalic as well as dolichocephalic types of man were already domiciled in France. The dolmens, which in the western and north-western parts of France, but especially in Bretagne, are very numerous, contain in some cases only long-headed skeletons, but in others there is a mixture of the types, such as does not occur in England and

Scotland. Whether the long-headed dolmen builders were of the same race as the older, Cro-magnon and Solutré, people, is very doubtful; the general belief is that some of them, at all events, belonged to an early wave of the blond northern conquerors, and that these passed over into Africa, (where dolmens are exceedingly numerous, and continued to be erected down to a late period) and were the same people who appeared in the Egyptian wall-paintings as fair and blue-eyed, under the names of Taken-nu, Tamahu, and Lebo or Lybians. What we may really be certain of is, that the old long-heads mixed with the short-headed people, of whom probably a new wave had come in from the east and brought with them the domestic animals and some of the arts (though here again I am lapsing into the dubious)—what we may feel sure of is that much amalgamation took place, that subsequently one or more waves of blond conquerors came in from east and north-east, and overlaid the greater part of the country, and that when the Roman period arrived they constituted a military aristocracy, which was particularly strong in the north-east, *i.e.*, in Belgium. This blond race or caste was called the Galli, Galatai; the French call their type the Kymric, and mostly believe that it was also that of the Kimmerians; but the nation was that of the Kelts, and the mass of it, which, without much positive evidence, is supposed to have been short, sturdy, and of rather dark complexion, as it is now, is spoken of by the French, since Broca's time, as Keltic. This it is important to remember. Those who think the blond northern long-headed people were the original fabricators, or even the importers into Europe, of the Aryan language, mostly suppose that they imposed it at some time, not necessarily after their arrival in France, upon the Kelts, who in such case must have previously spoken an allophylian, not an Aryan, tongue. If, however, this conversion of the Kelts to Aryanism took place in France, it is quite conceivable that they had previously imposed their own language on the Iberians, or Mediterranean long-heads, whom they had themselves subdued and overlaid already. This suggestion I quote, but do not endorse.

The position, then, in the time of Cæsar, was on this wise:—

Beyond the Garonne, and along the Pyrenees, and as far east as the Rhone, the Aquitanians, an Iberian people. In the corner east of the Rhone, the Ligurians, of whom more presently. Throughout the mass of the county, from east and south-east to west and north-west, pressing across the Garonne, and stretching northward beyond the Seine, the Keltic nationality, composed as before described. North-east of them, extending almost or altogether as far as the Rhine, the Belgæ, in whom the Galatic element was stronger than in the Kelts, and who were beginning to be pressed upon and interpenetrated by the next wave of blond long-headed warriors, the Germans. Finally, on some parts of the course of the Rhine, tribes thought to be German rather than Galatic had already established themselves on the left bank.

Subsequent changes were these:—The Roman domination may have somewhat Italianized the blood in particular districts, especially about the Mediterranean coasts. The Kelts probably continued for some centuries to gain ground on the Iberians beyond the Garonne. The blond, or as the French say, the Kymric element, had probably been considerably diminished during Cæsar's conquests; but, as the empire declined, this was again somewhat increased by the settlement, especially in the north-east, of Germanic captives as colonists.

At the time of the *Völkswanderung*, almost the whole land was overrun and settled on by several nations, mostly, but not all Germanic. In some parts, however, the occupancy was simply military or political. The Franks, for example, Salian and Ripuarian, settled thickly in Flanders and Brabant and along the left bank of the Middle Rhine respectively; they also spread in a thin stratum over most of the country north of the Loire and of Burgundy, and somewhat more thickly in the neighbourhood of Laon and Soissons, but scarcely at all in Bretagne.

The Saxons, following the Franks, completely Germanized Flanders and Brabant, the Frisians co-operating. The respective shares of these people in the work are difficult to appreciate, but Vanderkindere has made the attempt, relying chiefly on the analysis of local names. Saxons also settled numerously

about Bayeux and Caen, in what afterwards became Normandy: they colonized the peninsula of Batz in South Brittany, and probably the Isle of Ushant, which has still the distinction of producing the tallest and finest breed of men in Brittany. The Burgundians settled in Savoy\* and in the Jura, and about Geneva and Lyons, and subsequently in the country which still bears their name. The Visigoths became the rulers of the whole south of France, and gave a new military aristocracy to many parts of it, not however to Auvergne, where the Gallo-Roman gentry were not displaced. The Franks, though they became politically dominant in the south after the defeat of the Goths at Vouillé, do not seem to have settled there to any extent.

Finally, the Norwegians occupied Normandy in large numbers, and settled also in the north-east corner of Brittany, and to the south of the Middle Loire, in proportion sufficient, perhaps, to leave traces in the local forms and complexions.

The relations of stature, head-breadth, and colour, have been carefully studied both in France and in Belgium. In the latter country the results obtained by observation are remarkably clear and satisfactory. Vanderkindere managed to effect the investigation of the colours of the hair and eyes of the school children, and found that the line of demarcation between the blonds and the brunettes coincided pretty closely with that of language. The Flemish-speaking cantons have the most blonds, the Walloon-speaking have the most brunettes. The line of division runs due east and west, a little south of Brussels and a little north of Liege.

Scarcely less satisfactory are Houze's observations on head-form, which, however, do not extend beyond provinces to cantons. But all the provinces north of Vanderkindere's line have populations with longer or narrower heads than any of those to the south of it. In the north, or Flemish division, the range is from 76·70 in Limburg to 78·31 in West Flanders, in the south from 78·51 in Namur to 81·17 in Belgian Luxembourg.

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\* Probably they more or less completely abandoned Savoy subsequently, as no trace of their type seems to be found there now.



Now, of course, stature ought to follow the same rules, and be higher to the north than to the south of the frontier line of language. And so it is. Every northern province stands above every southern one. Limburg, the most purely Germanic and the most blond and the most long-headed, has also the tallest inhabitants (1666 millimeters = 5 ft. 5.6 in.\*), and Hainault, which has the most brunettes, has the shortest. The rule holds good even to the length of the nose. The Flemings have the most long, the Walloons the most broad noses: the Bruxellesse, lying in Brabant, but nearer the Walloon border, naturally come between, but nearest to the Flemings.

The point of stature, is I think, particularly remarkable. Flanders and Brabant are flat, damp, studded with unhealthy manufacturing towns; the Walloon provinces are generally hilly, breezy, agricultural or pastoral, and their recruits are on the whole healthier, and fewer or quite as few of them are absolutely undersized; and stature is of all hereditary qualities one of the most easily affected by media; and yet withal the Flemings are on the average taller than the Walloons, by virtue of hereditary right.

A great deal of work of the same kind has been done in France, and the results have been often, but not always, clear and satisfactory. Edwards pointed out the prevalence of his Kymric type—long head, square high forehead, long high nose, fair skin—the well known head of Dante has something of the form—in the north-east of France. Then Boudin and Broca proved that the departments in which high stature prevailed formed a compact mass extending from the Straits of Dover and the mouth of the Seine to the Jura and the Rhone, while those where stature was lowest were aggregated in a central mass, for the most part, with prolongations to Brittany and the Pyrenees, while the departments fringing the Bay of Biscay from the Loire to the Pyrenees, and those bordering the Mediterranean, occupied mostly an intermediate

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\* These figures refer to conscripts. Full-grown men would probably be nearly an inch taller, perhaps 5 ft. 6½ inches, or about the average height of southern Englishmen.

position. I have spoken already of the double maxima of stature discovered by Bertillon the elder in the lists of the Doubs, indicating a mixture of two races, one of the Keltic, with a stature of about 5 ft 4 in., the other, presumably Burgundian, of about 5 ft. 8 in. The same phenomenon was subsequently discovered in the lists of several of the northern provinces, such as the Oise and the Lower Seine, where the taller men may be taken to represent the Galatæ, Franks and Normans.\*

Next followed Topinard with his great inquest into coloration. On the whole its results are not far from what might have been expected; of those that are otherwise, some may depend on the personal or local equation of the observers; though Topinard guarded himself as much as possible against this, by issuing to his assistants standards of colour; others may depend on migrations or settlements anterior to history, or which have taken place silently and unnoticed in more modern days.

The north-west and extreme north come first, or are most blond; then the north-east and the region of the Jura, then Brittany, the Isle of France, Savoy, Berry, the Creuse, the Charente, then most of the centre and west centre, the Alps, etc., then Poitou, Aquitaine and Languedoc and Auvergne, finally the Pyrenees, Provence and Corsica.

Of anomalies the most curious is the rather high position of Creuse, which is certain though unexplained. Morbihan, too, stands second in the whole list, which I can hardly understand, unless there are portions of it very different from the parts about Auray which I have visited. The Veneti, its old inhabitants, were said to be Belgic; but Cæsar, as I have told you already, says he exterminated them.

Thirdly comes Collignon's investigation of the head-breadth, extending also to every department. The resulting maps differ more, perhaps, from those of stature and colour than these two differ from each other; for of the three great race-divisions of France the true Celts are intermediate in colour,

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\* Lagneau, *Anthropologie de la France*, p. 41. See diagram.

but stand perhaps last in stature, while they have by far the broadest heads. On the map of headbreadth, therefore, they distinguish themselves most clearly. They occupy the entire east of France, the maximum of breadth being found in the Jura, with a secondary maximum in the Cevennes. One prolongation is pushed across the Upper Garonne to the Western Pyrenees, another into Touraine, Maine and Brittany. The southern coast is occupied by the longheaded Mediterranean race, which is at its purest in Corsica and Roussillon; while the northern longheaded race streams in from the Flemish frontier, as far as Normandy and the Isle of France. But there is another comparatively long-headed area, including eleven departments, of which the Gironde and the Cher are the two extremes in local position, and which can only be supposed to represent the primitive long-headed (say Cro-magnon) race, only moderately crossed by the Celts, and somewhat reinforced by the northern blonds.

Taking the three maps together (those of Boudin and Broca of Topinard and of Collignon) we get this impression. First, that there is a short dark long-headed race, which was aboriginal or else came in across the Pyrenees; this is the Iberian or Mediterranean, and is most pure, I repeat, in Roussillon and Corsica. Secondly, a short thick-set rather dark and very broad-headed race, which streamed in from the east, from the side of the Alps and the Jura, and so to the west-north-west and west-south-west, towards Brittany and the Pyrenees. Thirdly, a tall, blond, long-headed race, which came in from the north and north-east, and also to some extent by sea. This one, crossing with the second, has produced the tall, blond, short-headed people of the north-east (Lorraine, Burgundy and Franche-Comté), and crossing with the first, to a less extent, may have helped to produce some unexplained phenomena in the west. There are, of course, sub-divisions and sub-types also, but these we have not now space to consider.

Those who are disposed to make much of the influence of external agencies may note that in France, as elsewhere in Europe, the roundest heads are found in the mountainous districts. Of the provinces of France, Brittany has been especi-

ally studied by Broca, Guibert, Collignon and Chassagne. Here it is pretty clear that the blond people arrived on the sea-coast, and thence filtered in along the most easy channels, in some cases along the Roman roads, with the result that at present the small swarthy round-headed breed is found most pure in the central moorlands. De la Bourdonnais, returning from travelling in the Himalaya, says these Bretons are Mongoloid;\* and Renan, also a Breton, when he visited a Lapp encampment, saw there types of women and children, traits and customs, which woke up in him his oldest memories. There must, he thought, have been intermixture between some branches of the Celts and some race resembling the Lapps. 'My ethnic formula for the Breton would be,' he adds, 'a Celt, mixed with a Gascon, and crossed with a Lapp.'

In the Aveyron, the Rouergue, or land of the Rutheni, where Collignon finds a breadth index of 83.50,† Durand de Gros says that all the ancient skulls found are long and narrow. The peasants now have invariably broad skulls, but the educated townspeople have not;‡ moreover, while the peasants are dark, the country squires, probably of Gothic descent, are generally fair.

All these facts may perhaps be explicable on the theory of permanence of types; the ancient skulls preserved may have belonged wholly to a ruling race, who were Galatic; and the short swarthy round-headed peasantry may have existed on the land then and during all subsequent revolutions. But any other interpretation involves extreme difficulty.

\* *Voyage en Basse Bretagne, etc.* Paris, 1892.

† Reduced from the living, as usual.

‡ Lapouge, in the Herault, and Ammon in Swabia, find long heads prevalent in the past, in towns, in the upper and cultivated classes, short heads in the present, in the country, in uncultivated plebeians.

\* \* Correction to be applied to Lecture I., p. 417. Dr. Burgess is my authority for the statement that there is a tribe of Brahmins living somewhere to the south of Bombay, the Chiploom and Chittpawan Brahmins, with very light complexions, and some of them with light hair and grey or blue eyes. They are said to be very able administrators; Sir Dinkar Rao was a Chittpawan Brahmin.

## ART. VIII.—THE SCOTCH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.\*

**M**Y subject is the Scotch Education Department, and my aim is to explain more fully what I said about it in my last address to you. As I desire to be practical, I shall enter at once on my theme without any preliminary remarks.

I shall first attempt to describe the Scotch Education Department. But in doing so I know that I am liable to error. For a long time the education of Great Britain was under the control of the President and Vice-President of the Privy Council; but during a large portion of that time no one knew clearly what were the transactions that ought to come within the sphere of the President, and what within the sphere of the Vice-President, and for what actions the one was responsible, and for what the other, or indeed whether the Vice-President, was subordinate to the President, or the President to the Vice-President. At length a Commission was appointed to inquire into this matter, and Presidents and Vice-Presidents were examined. The Report which this Commission issued (1865) is exceedingly curious, for it reveals in the most marked manner the anomalies which can exist in our modes of government. No two Presidents and no two Vice-Presidents agreed in their opinions as to what were their powers and what were their functions, and it appeared that each President and Vice-President acted according to his own conceptions of his powers and duties without any regard to what his predecessors had thought or done. In giving an account therefore of the Scotch Education Department as it now exists, it is not unlikely that I may go wrong in stating what are the powers of the respective components of it. My object, however, is not to expound their theoretic rights and duties, but to ascertain and explain as far as I can what share each component part takes in the administration of the educational affairs of this country.

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\* Address to the Western Branch of the Association of Secondary Teachers in Scotland, Oct. 29, 1892.



1st. The head of the Scotch Education Department is the President of the Privy Council. I do not know if the head of the department knows anything about Scotch education. I doubt if he takes the slightest interest in it. I am not aware that he ever gives a minute's consideration to it, or that he does anything of any kind whatever in connection with it except sign an occasional document when he is requested to do so. Most of us at the time when Lord Rosebery's bill for the establishment of the Scotch Office passed in the House of Lords thought that the Scotch Secretary ought to be the head of the Scotch Education Department, but the Scotch officials of the Education Department of the day thought differently, and carried their point that the Scotch Education Department should be under the head of the English Education Department. I do not think that this provision of the Act has been altered, but as far as I can learn from any published documents or from private information the head of the Department does nothing whatever in connection with Scotch education, except, as I said, sign one or two documents.

2. The Secretary for Scotland is the official who ought to be responsible for the administration of education in Scotland. But the position is one of great difficulty. The amount of business that he has to transact is very large, and it embraces all varieties of concerns. Up to this date therefore it is not to be wondered at that the Secretary for Scotland has not been able, as far as we can see, to take an active part in educational questions or to impress the stamp of his mind on the education of the country. I asked the late Lord Dalhousie, when he had been about two months in the position of Secretary for Scotland, whether he had had any time to look into educational matters, and he replied that it might be a year or two before he could in any way devote his attention to them. Sir George Trevelyan may be more fortunate. He is deeply interested in education and has thought much about it, and he may deem it his duty to take the entire responsibility of our educational administration. But as yet I do not think I am wrong in stating that no Scotch Secretary has been able to master our educational system and superintend all the provisions which it

embraces. And there is a doubt whether he has the power, about which I shall say a few words afterwards.

3. There is a body of men called the members of the Privy Council for Education in Scotland, and well known to the schoolmasters of Scotland under the designation of 'My Lords. I do not know that their powers have ever been defined, but this is a matter of no consequence: for except under quite extraordinary circumstances they never meet. It is doubtful whether on the few occasions on which they met any minutes were taken of their meeting. They are not bound to meet, and as far as I can gather, they have met at the instigation of the permanent official secretary when it was thought expedient to contradict the outcry that they never met, and they have never in any way influenced the administration of education in Scotland. The use of the term 'My Lords' in official documents is an unalloyed fiction. There is no reason to believe that they even see the documents which represent them as expressing their opinions.

It was the Scotch Education Act of 1872 which called the Scotch Committee into existence, and the following are the terms which constituted it:—'The Scotch Education Department shall mean the Lords of any Committee of the Privy Council appointed by Her Majesty on Education.' The Committee as you see is appointed by Her Majesty, but everything else is left absolutely indefinite, and in no other or subsequent Act is there anything to indicate who are to be the members of the Committee, why they are to be elected, who is to be their chairman, where and how often they are to meet, and whether there are to be any minutes of their meetings.

In regard to these three constituent elements of the Education Department, I shall quote the words of one who knows well the working of the system. He says in an article contributed to the *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1885, in reference to the two Committees on Education—the one on English Education and the other on Scotch:—

'At present the authority, such as it is, is undoubtedly vested in these two Committees. The Lord President, as well as the Vice-President,

directs the administration, but only, in the eye of the law, as representing that Committee, and with no independent authority whatever. The letters and orders of the Department run in the name of no Minister, but of 'My Lords,' which is the short form employed to designate the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council. But, on the other hand, the evidence given to the Select Committee shows, that at no time has either Committee exercised any definite authority, or indeed has been summoned except on casual and not very frequent occasions. No quorum is prescribed; no records of proceedings are kept; and even when the advice of certain members has been sought, in view of legislative proposals, they have met rather, perhaps, as a Committee of the Cabinet than as a Committee of the Privy Council. The practice as regards the composition of the Committee has never been defined, and has varied considerably in regard to the English and Scotch Committees. That for England is composed entirely of certain leading State officers, whose other functions are far too great to allow of their assuming any responsibility for education, or assisting at any deliberations thereon, and whose presence on the Committee is little more than nominal. That for Scotland, on the other hand, has always, since 1878, contained members who were unconnected with the Government; and very recently no less than four such members sat on a Committee of nine.'

Dr. Craik, the present Permanent Secretary, was the writer of the article. There are two points in his statement that seem to require modification. It may be that sometimes there are four members of the Scotch Committee outside the Government, but generally these have been men who have had the official character stamped on them. And the occurrence of four such members being on the list must have been rare. In the late Government the Scotch Committee consisted of the Lord President of the Council, the Secretary for Scotland, Lord Watson, Lord Sandford, the Home Secretary, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the President of the Local Government Board, and the Lord Advocate. Here the only two non-official persons are Lord Watson, an ex-Lord Advocate, and Lord Sandford, an ex-Permanent Secretary of the Education Department. Under the present Government the Scotch Committee consists of the Lord President of the Council, the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Scotch Secretary, the Lord Advocate and the Secretary for War, every one being a member of the Cabinet except the Lord

Advocate, and all of them overburdened with work and interested in concerns of a different nature. But it is really of no consequence who are the members of the Committee, if they never or rarely meet, and do not control the documents which are issued in their name.

On the other point, Dr. Craik seems to me technically right but practically wrong. He says that the Scotch Secretary's connection with Scotch education depends on his position as Vice-President in the Committee, and that he has 'no independent authority whatever.' If his powers did depend on his position in the Committee, and the Committee rarely or never meets, then his authority must be very slight. But in practice the Vice-President of the Committee on English Education is English Minister of Education. It is said that the present Government has invested Mr. Acland with all the powers and privileges of a Minister of Education, and as he is a man who has given great attention to educational affairs, and has mastered the details of his subject, and as he has thoroughly sound ideas in regard to educational organization, and is in full sympathy with the aspirations of teachers and educationists, and as besides, he is a man of determined resolution, keen insight, and wide views; we may rest assured that he will show himself every inch a real Minister of Education. I believe that the Scotch Secretary has the same right and authority in regard to Scottish education, and as Sir George Trevelyan is a man of the widest literary culture, of great educational experience, and feels a deep interest in the welfare of teachers, I have no doubt that he will also claim the right to discharge the duties of Education Minister for Scotland, if the multifarious concerns of his office permit him, and indeed he has already done this to some extent. His evidence in regard to the relation of the Irish Secretary to Irish Education, before the Select Committee of 1884, is proof conclusive that he will claim his rights and discharge his duties as Minister of Education in Scotland.

4. There is the Education Office, at the head of which is the Permanent Secretary of the Education Department. Sometimes we hear of the legal adviser to the department, and

there is an accountant. But the principal functionary is the secretary. He is not responsible in any way to Parliament, and the only mode in which disapprobation of his action can be shown is by reproof from the Scotch Secretary, by dismissal, or by removal to another sphere of work. It is the opinions of this permanent official that are expressed when 'My Lords' are said to determine anything. He wields the entire power which, by any Act of Parliament or provisional order or code, is assigned to the Scotch Education Department. By the Act of 1872, and the inevitable consequences that flow from it, he has the power to determine all the subjects which are to be taught in Scotch public schools, and the modes in which they are to be taught. This power is not directly given in the Act. But the power of distributing grants to all schools is placed in the hands of the department. No School Board is willing to forego these grants. And the result is that all School Boards submit to the conditions which the Permanent Secretary imposes. He has thus the School Boards of Scotland entirely under his foot, and they cannot move a step without his permission. It is true that the mode of distributing the grant is laid down in the code, and that the code is submitted to Parliament. But Parliament almost never interferes, and cannot be expected to interfere. The framer of the code, *i.e.*, the Permanent Secretary, has practically the entire control of the conditions on which the grants are to be made. And indeed this system of working through a code laid on the tables of the Houses of Parliament, enables the Permanent Secretary to extend his own powers, and to introduce arrangements which in other Government departments could be introduced only by acts of Parliament, which are much discussed because they go through the various and slow processes of first, second, and third readings in both Houses. The Permanent Secretary, besides prescribing the subjects to be taught, and the modes of teaching them, further controls the carrying out of education through inspectors, who may sometimes be appointed by the Scotch Secretary, but for the most part have been appointed by him, and who make their reports to him and derive their promotion from him. He has thus absolute control over the



entire system of public school education, except that he does not appoint the teachers.

In secondary education, the Act of 1878 gave the Department power to control the expenditure of School Boards on school buildings and on teachers. The School Boards cannot take a penny from the rates to increase the salary of a secondary teacher except by the consent of the Permanent Secretary. In the various schemes which have been established by the Endowed Schools Commission, the Education Department comes in as the final court of appeal, and in all such cases, the Permanent Secretary has to decide. He also appoints the examiners of all endowed schools, and to him they send their reports.

More recently, and through circumstances which I need not relate, he has come to have the appointment of all the examiners to the higher class public schools, and to him they send their reports; and he has instituted the system of leaving certificates, he appoints the examiners for these certificates, and he dispenses these rewards of merit. Finally, to the Department has been assigned the distribution of the £60,000 voted for secondary education by the Scotch Education and Local Taxation Account Act 1892, according to a memorandum drawn up by the Permanent Secretary, and which, even under the modified form which has been given to it through Lord Elgin's Committee, will commit to him the entire control over the subjects to be taught, and the mode of teaching them in all the schools which derive any benefit from the grant.

Besides this extraordinary power, or rather in harmony with it, the Permanent Secretary receives deputations in regard to educational matters, as if he were a member of the Cabinet, and is appointed a member of committees where the rest of the members are all Peers or Members of Parliament.

I think that if this description of the powers of the Permanent Secretary is at all accurate, he is an educational autocrat, wielding powers which no Minister of the Crown wields. The arrangement sometimes reaches the point of the burlesque—for the Permanent Secretary sometimes addresses his re-

ports to the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland—that is, as we have seen, to himself. An instance of this may be found in the last report of the Scotch Committee, 1891-92, where Dr. Craik presents a report on the Inspection of Higher Class Schools and the Examination of Leaving Certificates to the Committee.

It is easy to see how this enormous power of the Permanent Secretary has arisen. There must be a controlling authority in educational as in other matters. There must be a right of appeal from the lower courts of administration to the higher. In fact there must be some centre to which all the various agencies can look. Arrangement is made for this in a President, a Vice-President, and an Education Department, but if the Education Department proves to be a fiction, and the President and Vice-President are to take no part in the work, the duty falls on the Permanent Secretary, and he has to perform an exceedingly difficult duty in circumstances most unfavourable to his adequate discharge of it.

I do not think that there exists anywhere such a centralized system as that which I have now described to you. I wish I could lay before you the legislative and administrative arrangements for education in the principal countries in Europe, but time would not permit me. By accident I have fallen upon France, which is notorious as having the most rigid organization for education, and I shall now read to you a translation of the law relating to the organization of education :—

The Law Relating to the Supreme Council of Public Education and to Academic Councils, was passed 27th February 1880, and remains unaltered. It is as follows :—

The Senate and the Chambers of Deputies have adopted, the President of the Republic promulgates, the law of which the purport is as follows :—  
Title 1st. Of the Supreme Council of Public Education.

Article 1st. The Supreme Council of Public Education is constituted as follows :—

The Minister, President.

Five members of the Institute elected by the Institute in general assembly and chosen in each one of the five classes.

Nine Councillors, appointed by decree of the President of the Republic, in the Ministerial Council on the presentation of the Minister of Public

Education, and chosen from among the Directors and ex-Directors of the Ministry of Public Education, the General Inspectors and ex-General Inspectors, the Rectors and ex-Rectors, the Inspectors and ex-Inspectors of the Academy, the Teachers and the ex-Teachers of Public Instruction.

Two Professors of the College of France, elected by their colleagues.

One Professor of the Museum, elected by his colleagues.

One Professor of the Faculties of Catholic Theology, elected by all the Professors, the Assistants and the '*Chargés de cours*' of the aforesaid Faculties.

One Professor of the Faculties of Protestant Theology, elected by the Professors, the '*Chargés de cours*,' and the '*Maitres de Conférences*.'

Two Professors of the Faculties of Law, elected by '*scrutin de liste*' by the Professors, Fellows (*agrégé* or teachers appointed by examination), and the '*Chargés de cours*.'

Two Professors of the Faculties of Medicine or of the mixed Faculties, by '*scrutin de liste*' by the Professors, the Teaching Fellows, the '*Chargés de cours*,' and the '*Maitres de Conférences*' having the degree of Doctor.

One Professor of the Higher Schools of Pharmacy or of the mixed Faculties, elected under the same conditions.

In the mixed Faculties the Professors of Medical Instruction will vote for the two Professors of Medicine, and the Professors of Pharmaceutical Instruction will vote for the Professor of Pharmacy.

Two Professors of the Faculties of Sciences, elected by '*scrutin de liste*' by the Professors, the Assistants, the '*Chargés de cours*,' and the '*Maitres de Conférences*,' having the degree of Doctor.

Two Professors of the Faculties of Letters, elected under the same conditions.

Two Delegates of the Higher Normal School, one for Letters, the other for the Sciences, elected by the Director, the sub-Director and the '*Maitres de Conférences*' of the school, and chosen from among them.

One Delegate of the Normal School of Special Instruction, elected by the Director, the sub-Director, and the Teachers of the School, and chosen from among them.

One Delegate of the National School of Charts, elected by the Members of the Improvement Council and the Teachers and chosen from among them.

One Professor of the School of Living Oriental Languages, elected by his colleagues.

One delegate of the Polytechnic School, elected by the commander, the second commander, the members of the Council of Improvement, the director of studies, the examiners, professors, and tutors of the school, and chosen from among them.

One delegate from the School of Fine Arts, elected by the director and the professors of the school, and chosen from among them.

One delegate of the Conservatoire of Arts and Trades, elected by the director, sub-director, and professors, and chosen from among them.

One delegate of the Central School of Arts and Manufactures, elected by the director and the professors of the school, and chosen from among them.

One delegate of the Agricultural Institute, elected by the director and professors of this establishment, and chosen from among them.

Eight teaching fellows of each of the orders of fellowship (grammar, literature, philosophy, history, mathematics, physical or natural sciences, living languages, special instruction), elected by all the fellows of the same order, who are teachers or functionaries in the Lycées.

Two delegates of the Communal Colleges, elected, one in the order of letters, the other in the order of sciences, by the principals and professors in these Colleges having the degree of licentiate in the same order.

Six members of primary instruction elected by '*scrutin de liste*,' by the general Inspectors of primary instruction, by the director of primary instruction of the Seine, the Inspectors of the Academy for the departments, the primary inspectors, the directors and the directresses of the Normal primary schools, the directress of the Pape-Carpantier school, the general inspectresses and the special female delegates charged with the inspection of the infant schools.

Four members of free instruction appointed by the President of the Republic, on the motion of the Minister.

Article 2. All the members of the Council are appointed for four years. Their powers can be indefinitely renewed.

Article 3. The nine members appointed Councillors by decree of the President of the Republic, and six Councillors whom the Minister designates from among those who have been elected constitute a permanent section.

Article 4. The functions of the permanent section are :—

To study the programmes and regulations before they are submitted to the consideration of the Supreme Council.

It gives its advice :—

On the creation of Faculties, Lycées, Colleges and Normal Primary Schools.

On the creation, transformation, or suppression of Chairs.

On class books, library and prize books which should be prohibited in public schools.

And in fine, on all questions of studies, administration, discipline, or of the interest of scholars which are remitted to it by the Minister.

In the case of a vacancy in a Chair in a Faculty, the permanent section presents two candidates concurrently with the Faculty in which the vacancy exists.

In that which concerns the theological Faculties, the permanent Section gives its advice on the presentation made to the Minister pursuant to the laws and regulations in regard to which otherwise no innovation has taken place.

Article 5. The Council gives its advice :—

On the programmes, methods of instruction, modes of examination, administrative and disciplinary regulations relating to public schools already considered by the permanent Section.

On regulations relating to examination, and to the conferring of Degrees.

On the regulations relating to the supervision of free schools.

On the books for instruction, and for reading, and for prize books, which ought to be prohibited in free schools as contrary to morality, the constitution and laws.

On the regulations relating to the requests made by foreigners for authorization to teach, to open and to conduct a school.

Article 6. A decree put in the form of regulations of public administration after advice of the Supreme Council of Public Education, determines the fee to be paid for matriculation, examination and diplomas in the establishments of University education empowered to confer degrees, as well as the conditions of age for admission to Degrees.

Article 14 of the law of 14th June 1854 is repealed.

Article 7. The Council decides on appeal and in the last resort on the judgments made by the Academic Councils in contentious or disciplinary matters.

It decides equally on appeal and in the last resort on the judgments made by the departmental Councils when these judgments pronounce absolute prohibition to teach against a primary teacher, public or free.

When the matter concerned is, 1st. the revocation, the withdrawal of employment, the suspension of professors of public instruction in the Universities or secondary schools, or of the transference to inferior employment of professors of University public instruction ; 2nd. Of the prohibition of the right to teach or to conduct an establishment, pronounced against a member of public or free instruction ; 3rd. Of the exclusion of the students from public or free instruction in all the Academies ; the decision of the Supreme Council must be determined by two-thirds of the votes.

Article 8. The Council meets in general assembly twice a year. The Minister can convoke an extraordinary sitting.

Here you will notice that the Supreme Council has representatives from every class of teacher—from the universities, from the secondary schools, from the primary schools, and from the voluntary or adventure schools, which are called free in France. The selection from the primary schools is made by a body of electors more restricted than the sphere from which they can elect—for they can elect from any officials connected with primary instruction, whether teachers in primary schools or inspectors of them.



I wish that our time permitted me to read to you the next portion of the law which deals with Academic Councils. These manage the separate universities and circles of secondary schools, and the striking feature for us is, that the universities and secondary schools are managed by the same councils, and secondary teachers sit along with professors in these councils. But I cannot enter on this matter and simply draw your attention to it.

Let us look now at the Supreme Council and contrast it with our own method.

1. The Permanent Secretary is invisible in France, and the Minister of Education presides over the Council, is responsible for every transaction connected with education, prepares laws for it in the Legislative Chamber, and signs the educational documents. This Minister of Education is in touch with the Legislature because he is a member of the Cabinet, and he is in touch with the people because he is a representative of them.

2. You will notice the importance which is attached to a knowledge of education and to experience in it. The Minister of Education in France has generally been a man who has actually taught in a school or university. The most prominent education Minister of Louis Napoleon was a teacher in a Lycée. And sometimes the Minister continues to be a teacher even while a Minister. The late Minister of Education in Italy, Signor Villari, is a teacher or professor in a college in Florence. It is a mere accident if our Minister knows anything about the subject of education. His knowledge is not often taken into account when he is appointed. In the appointment to the membership of the Education Department, educational experience is not taken into consideration. Rather it seems as if educational experience were a disqualification or at least as if it were deliberately excluded. For all members must be members of the Privy Council, and it is not the way of our country to make teachers or educationists members of the Privy Council.

Yet there can be no doubt which is the right course to pursue, and that we ought to follow the idea embodied in the French system, and indeed in every educational system except

our own, which, however, is the negation of system. We ought to have a Minister of Education for Scotland. It is of no consequence what name is given to him. He may be called Secretary for Scotland, or President of the Scotch Committee, or Vice-President. But it is of importance that he should be responsible for the education of Scotland, that he should master the entire subject, should issue his decrees in his own name, after carefully weighing them, and that educational appeals should be made to him and through him to Parliament and the people.

It is also advisable that he should have a Consultative Council, to which he could go with the certainty that he would get the best educational advice in the country, and in which he would be sure to find all the educational interests of the country represented. Such a council would facilitate his work immensely. In two or three days he could hear all educational subjects in dispute discussed with the fullest knowledge and the greatest experience. He would, moreover, come in contact with the men who could at any time supply him with the most accurate information, and represent to him the feelings of all classes of the community and of teachers. His decisions would thus be directed by full consideration of the interests of all. Moreover, if the meetings of the Council were held in public, an interest in education would be awakened in the whole community.

The advantages of such a system compared with our own are great. The Permanent Secretary wields enormous power within his own department, but he is not responsible to the public. He has no concern in the legislation of the country, except in so far as the drawing up of bills is entrusted to him by a member of the Government or of Parliament. He does not breathe the air of popular movements. He becomes intent on preserving the traditions of his office. He is unwilling to see alterations made in the methods of his office. His great ambition is to extend the influence of his office. He desires to bring all educational matters within its grasp, and to control them with an iron hand. But he cannot help in an extremity. His reply is ready whenever he likes, 'I am not a member of

Government; I have no share in making laws; I merely execute them. Such is the law and I cannot alter it.' These tendencies of the official mind are well described by Dr. Craik in the article to which I have referred. He says:—

'The English nation, it may further be objected, resents anything in the shape of a bureaucracy. It knows how easily an intolerable tyranny can grow up behind the rigid and impenetrable organization of a State Department. It is aware how, under that organization, the private citizen finds himself enveloped in a system too complicated to be resisted, how soon those by whom it is administered find themselves fortified behind a strong wall of rules, and precedents, and statutory regulations, through which the uninitiated strive in vain to break. The Englishman fears that he may fall the more completely under this thralldom, inasmuch as he is conscious of being unduly impatient of the trouble of making himself acquainted with the system of his own Government, which seems to have an interest only for those charged with its administration. It is a matter of ordinary experience, for instance, that few who have not some special reason for knowing it, take the trouble to understand our educational system as it now exists, could explain the simplest principles that regulate the relations between the locality and the State, or could tell by what different agencies the schools in each locality may be provided, or attendance thereat enforced. This very ignorance affords, no doubt, exactly the opportunity by which bureaucratic authority may profit for the extension of its own powers.'

The bureaucratic, or as we should call it, the official mind, possesses an enormous fund of immobility or *vis inertiae*. It has vast powers of resistance. It can also, when endowed with authority, absorb into its own mechanical system, but it has no powers of origination. Indeed, the official is not supplied with the opportunity to originate. Hence he resists, and does not move until he is compelled by a strong force from without. This explains why the Education Office has resisted many of our most important reforms, and why it is the dread and the torment of the reformer. Lord Young resolved in his bill of 1872 to do a great stroke for the secondary schools, and did much, but he was prevented from doing what he might have done, and the report of the time was that it was the traditions of the Education Office that proved his most formidable opponent. Certainly, in 1878, when Dr. Macdonald and myself went up with our clause for allowing the rates to be

used for the salaries of secondary teachers and the improvement of the equipments of secondary schools, it was the Education Office that interfered, and by inserting the addition that all proposals to use the rates must receive the approval of the Education Department, nullified the clause. Dr. Macdonald and I intended to go to every burgh that had a secondary school, and to urge the importance of putting that school on a sound foundation of finance, but it was useless to do this, when the Education Department could step in and frustrate all our efforts. The School Boards were not eager to use the rate, and no damper, such as the Education Department was at that time sure to put on, was at all necessary. It was the Education Office that placed the Scotch Secretary under the English President of the Privy Council in educational matters. There cannot be a doubt that long before this time national provision would have been made for the training of both secondary and primary teachers, had not the immobility of the Education Office opposed itself as an obstacle. And the extraordinary memorandum in regard to the £60,000 to be spent on secondary education, is in the main the production of the Education Office, and to my mind a very extraordinary and retrograde production.

The inexpediency of the arrangement of our educational affairs arises mainly from this, that the Permanent Secretary is entrusted with enormous powers as an executive official, and that he has no legislative powers at all. He has extraordinary powers in carrying out laws, but he has no power to mend these laws, so that where there is anything wrong he cannot take steps to mend it, but leaves it as it is, until he is apt to believe that the wrong is right.

He exercises abnormal authority within his own sphere, but he is weak as water outside of it. I shall draw your attention to three subjects in which this want of correspondence between executive and legislative power has had injurious effects.

1. The various bodies that govern secondary schools are restricted in the highest degree in some parts of their administration and have unlimited powers in others: and the permanent official cannot remedy the evil results that arise

from both of these peculiarities. The governing bodies have unlimited power in choosing and dismissing teachers, and if they commit an injustice there is no appeal from them but to the public. On the other hand, in endowed schools the governing bodies have no power to give retiring allowances to any teacher. As if the country had no confidence in the honesty of governing bodies, the law limits in the most precise manner the expenditure of all the funds under their control, and they are not permitted to exercise any discretion. But such limitation is sometimes of the greatest disadvantage to a school. It is of great importance to be able to say to a teacher that he has now worked long enough, and that he may go and enjoy his *otium* in comfort and plenty. In other circumstances, the governing body, if it has a heart, refuses to dismiss him until he becomes absolutely and totally incapable of teaching. As a governor of Dollar Institution I had experience of the unfair working of this limitation. One of the teachers had laboured for a long time in connection with the Institution, and she was anxious to retire before the new system came into force. Accordingly, the old governors, following the custom of the Institution, assigned her a small retiring allowance. The new governors thought that this was only fair and reasonable, and paid the allowance. But the Accountant of the Education Department came down upon them with the assertion that it was not legal to do so. An appeal was made to the Permanent Secretary. It was clearly unjust to deprive the teacher of her small allowance, whatever the law might be. But the Permanent Secretary could merely receive the complaint: he could not remedy the injustice. Now if the case had gone to a responsible Minister instead of to an irresponsible official, it would have been considered, and no doubt he would have found a remedy for the case, and most probably a legislative remedy for all such cases. Another case of a somewhat different nature occurred in the same Institution. A teacher who had taught nearly forty years in the Institution was struck down with paralysis when about 82 years of age. He had always done his work well. He had not been able to save anything for his old age. Indeed it was next to impossible for him to



do so in his circumstances and with his small salary. No body of governors with a touch of human sympathy and kindness could dismiss a teacher in such circumstances and send him in his old age to utter destitution. And the governors by retaining him nominally as teacher and giving him part of his salary tried to stave off the difficulty. But the Accountant again came down upon them, and urged that the law was that he must be dismissed, and that no allowance of any kind could be given him. The Permanent Secretary was appealed to, but in this matter he is powerless, and the appeal to him is as water thrown upon the sands of the sea-shore. It would be entirely different, if the complaint had gone to a responsible Minister: for here is a whole class of grievances injurious to the efficiency of secondary schools which are continually cropping up. And if such grievances were regularly communicated to the Minister, he would feel bound to apply a legislative remedy.

2. The examination of secondary schools, under present circumstances, loses nearly all its educational value. Indeed the process partakes of the nature of the burlesque. The examiner is appointed by the Permanent Secretary. He goes down and examines the school. He prepares a report and sends it to the Permanent Secretary. The Permanent Secretary, after a considerable time, gets the report copied and sends the copy down to the governing body. Now what is the use of the report to the Permanent Secretary? None whatever. The only action he could take in the matter would be to refuse to entrust the examiner with the examination of any other school if he gathered from his report that he was unfit. The first use of an examiner is to advise the teacher and suggest to him improved methods of training and instruction. The next use of the examiner is to advise the governing bodies, so that they may improve the educational machinery, and in cases of utter neglect and insufficiency, to recommend the dismissal of the teacher. But it is just these two bodies of men, the teachers and the governors, with whom the examiner does not come much into contact. In fact the governing body may never see the examiner, and have no easy means of consulting with

him, and so the main purpose of the examination is defeated. This is absolutely the case with the examiners for the Leaving Certificates. It is not known who the examiners are. The examiners probably know nothing about the schools they examine, and never come in contact with either teacher or governing body.

Besides this, another result has come out of the Education Office Examinations. It was long urged that secondary schools should have a leaving examination, such as has existed for many years in Germany. After much agitation, the Permanent Secretary took up the idea, and has, to some extent, carried it out. Whether he really has the power to institute such examinations, and whether a permanent official can thus originate action in secondary schools, is a question which I cannot settle. Nor do I wish to discuss the efficiency of the method. But there can be no doubt of this fact, that it has intensified the line of demarcation which has been drawn between Secondary and University teachers. The Secondary teachers are placed entirely outside the University—a result very different from what we see in France; and the Universities Commissioners, in drawing up ordinances and Professors in preparing schemes, think almost exclusively of the effects that they will have on Universities and leave the secondary schools in the background. The results may be disastrous to our secondary education. Into this subject I cannot now enter fully; but I simply remark that, as the University Preliminary Examination is now laid out, there will be a strong inducement to secondary schools to confine themselves to the teaching of English, Latin, Mathematics, and French. As far as entrance to the University is concerned, all other subjects may be neglected; and the experience in England, as is well stated by the Rev. Mr. Glazebrook in one of the 'Thirteen Essays on Education,' recently published, is that the scholarships fall to the specialists, but that the specialists are beaten in the long run by those who have received a wider culture. The Universities' Commissioners have not yet settled how the bursaries in the Universities are to be decided, but, as in the case of the Preliminary Examinations, they are more likely to regulate

their disposal to suit the convenience of the Universities than to encourage wide culture in secondary schools. This subject would demand much larger treatment, but my time permits me simply to draw your attention to it. This demarcation between the secondary schools and the universities could not exist where there is a Minister of Education invested with the superintendence of all schools and universities, and where there is a Consultative Council containing representatives from secondary schools as well as from the universities.

Lastly, I come to the Memorandum. I cannot but characterise the legislation in connection with it as irritating in the highest degree. Every one knows what is wanted to improve secondary education. There never was a good system of secondary education in Scotland, though John Knox proposed one. There is every diversity of agency and of governing bodies. There are the higher class burgh schools under School Boards, and there are burgh classical schools not under School Boards but under other governing bodies. There are endowed schools. There are proprietary schools and there are adventure schools, and there is the secondary education given in primary schools. There may be other schools still, imparting secondary education. There is as yet no attempt to harmonize these various schools and make them co-operate with each other, instead of acting against each other and wasting their funds. Then the teachers of many of them have no recognized position and very small salaries; and there is no authority to which appeal can be made, and from which general direction might be expected. There is an utter want of organization. The forces engaged in secondary education require to be co-ordinated. The teachers ought to have a fair amount of salary, a fair amount of fixity of tenure, and a fair amount of independence; and the public ought to have security that the teacher is fit for his work, that he has received the necessary culture, that he is acquainted with the best methods of instruction, and that if he slackens in his exertions and loses his power of teaching, means will be at hand to inform the public and dispense with his services. This is what is required for secondary education in Scotland. Now the irritating thing

about this memorandum is, that a Bill was drawn up by Mr. Preston Bruce, and backed by several of our best Scotch members, and was printed in 1888, which could, with a few slight alterations, effect everything that is required. Why was it not revived on the occasion of the grant? And why was not the amount of the grant determined by the needs of the country? Besides, there is a Welsh Intermediate Education Act which was passed in 1889, which could have served as a model and guide. The result of our neglect of this opportunity will be that Scotland will be the only country in the civilised world in which there is no adequate organization of secondary education—for Mr. Acland, who took a prominent part in framing and carrying out the Welsh Act, will see to it that English secondary schools shall be properly organized.

The Memorandum is the work of the Education Office, and what it aims at doing, is simply gathering under its authority as much of the secondary education as £60,000 will bring. The Permanent Secretary could not help forming the Memorandum much as it is. He has no legislative powers. He could act only within his limits. And Lord Elgin's Committee, though it has done all that a committee could do to mend matters, could do very little, for it also had to act within the limits laid down by the Memorandum. And the issue will be that the expenditure of £60,000 will do some good, but that a great part of it will be wasted, and that the state of Scotch secondary education will have new elements of confusion introduced into it. For it seems to me that the ideas on which the Memorandum is based are wrong. First of all, the political idea appears to me to be wrong. The framers of it go on the supposition that public money is to be spent only in aid of the poor. Now the very idea of public education is that it is a benefit to all classes of the community, and adds to the welfare of the nation, and that therefore it is fair to maintain it by public rates and taxes; *i.e.*, by each citizen not paying what is called its market value, but by paying his share of the expenses in proportion to the wealth he possesses. If this be so, it is the duty of the State to provide a sound education for the rich as well as for the poor, and to see therefore that every

secondary school is effective, and that that there is a secondary school in every district where it ought to be, and that there is secondary education wherever it is judicious to supply it. Moreover, the Memorandum fails in effecting even that which it seems to aim at effecting. A complete system secures a secondary education for every boy and girl on whom it can be worthily bestowed. But the Memorandum does not do this. If a poor boy has great gifts for superior education, it is not enough that his education should be free. It is necessary that a maintenance should be secured for him while he is receiving the education, and the Memorandum makes no provision for this. On the other hand, the Memorandum will encourage many to take a secondary education who are not fit for it, and will largely increase the number of those who aspire to fill high intellectual positions without the necessary ability—to the grief of themselves and the detriment of the nation. The Memorandum sins also against the principles of education. It stimulates boys and girls to take portions or rather fragments of a secondary education in an indiscriminate manner; whereas the laws of education prescribe that, if it is fixed that, say twelve, should be the age at which a boy's school education should terminate, the subjects of instruction should be so laid out that he goes through a regular course, and at the beginning looks towards the end, the course being complete in itself, and all its parts tending to produce a perfect effect within its own limits. So it should be with a boy who ends at sixteen. He should not begin a variety of acquisitions and bring none of them to perfection. His whole course should lead to a definite amount of culture which should be so far complete in itself. The Memorandum neglects all this and many other things. But I need say no more. I think I have proved that if the Act for the distribution of the £60,000 had come under the responsibility of an Education Minister, and had been first considered by a consultative council containing the best educationists in the country, the Memorandum would never have seen the light, and we should have had an Act which would have organized the secondary education of Scotland, and would have used for this purpose the £60,000, or what-



ever sum might have been deemed requisite, in a way that would have injured none and conferred an incalculable amount of blessing on the nation.

My conclusion then is that we ought to have a Minister of Education responsible to Parliament and the nation for the educational arrangements of the country. It is of no consequence what name is given to the office. I have said that I believe that the Scotch Secretary possesses all the power and ought to act as the Education Minister. But if he should find his duties too numerous and varied to undertake this work satisfactorily, then there ought to be an Under-Secretary for Scotland, who could devote his time solely to education.

And second, there ought to be a consultative council containing representatives of every kind of educational institution, and embracing within it the best educational knowledge and experience of the country. I do not say that it should be exactly like the French or the German. We should frame it so as to suit our own methods and wants. But it ought to contain the educational wisdom of the nation. It is not to be an administrative body. It is to give advice to the Minister who is the responsible authority.

Of course both of these proposals would form part of a Secondary Education Act. And this Act should take great care in arranging the relations of the local governing bodies to the Supreme Authority. Unnecessary interference with their powers should be carefully avoided. They should be able to adapt the education of their schools to the wants of the localities. And the Supreme Authority should intervene principally when some general arrangement can be made which is for the good of all the schools and districts, and where general advice can be given which is derived from the best educational wisdom that the nation can supply.

I hope no one imagines that in this exposition of the Education Department I intend to blame any one, much less the permanent secretaries who have all been remarkably able men. It is the system which I wish to expose—a system which has grown up partly by accident and partly by haphazard legislation, made to suit only temporary necessities

without any pervading idea of aim or end. Permanent secretaries can see this through and notwithstanding the routine of their official life. I am happy to conclude my remarks with the words of Dr. Craik. I said that it was by accident that I fell upon the French education law. While thinking of this address I happened to be in France and saw in the newspapers announcements of elections to the Supreme Council. I could not but contrast those elections with the election of our Education Department. And so I resolved to inquire fully into the French educational machinery. After having arranged my material, I thought I would look into Dr. Craik's article on an Education Minister, the details of which I had forgotten, and I found that he also, in writing his article, had the French system before his eyes. And this is what he says of the Supreme Council :—

‘ But there is one part of it which we might with advantage adopt. As we have seen, the authority of the Education Department is legally vested in the Committees of Council, apart from whom the really responsible Ministers nominally possess no power. But such a committee can obviously exercise no executive functions ; while its constitution (being made up of the leading members of the Cabinet) renders it unfit for ordinary consultative purposes. But it is precisely for consultative purposes that any Council associated with a Minister of Education ought properly to exist, while it should be cut off, in name as well as in fact, from all executive functions. We have what might serve as model for such a council in the Conseil Supérieur of the French Ministry. In a few matters that council exercises a judicial authority which it would probably be better without ; but for the most part it confines itself to advice and deliberation at the regular periods of its meetings. In the permanent section of the Council the Minister has constantly at his hand a Committee, which in no way interferes with his responsibility, and which ought, if properly organised, to introduce no delay or friction into the machinery, but which may serve admirably to keep him in touch of the feelings of the leading educational authorities of the country, being composed of men sufficiently apart from the executive to be independent, and yet sufficiently acquainted with the working of the Educational machine to be practically useful. Modified to suit our wants, such a Council or Committee could not but be of infinite use to a Minister of Education in the serious task that must lie before him. It must be for him to apply the influence of the State throughout the whole sphere of educational activity, with sufficient force to guide, to stimulate, and to enlighten, but with sufficient moderation to avoid harassing interference and prevent the necessity of having to

reckon, as enemies, with the forces of independent opinion, variety in local requirements, and a healthy resistance to mechanical routine. It must be his to show how the organized operations of the State can bring to the development of her own resources, not the meddlesome officiousness of a vexatious bureaucracy, nor the ill-digested scheming of crotchety-mongers, but the combined and measured force of civilized society, that 'partnership in all science, in all art, in every virtue, in all perfection,' which it is the chief function of the State to express. These are the words of Burke. May we not, at this moment, add, with some urgency, 'a partnership that may help us to all prudence, all courage, and all strength?'

I am far from recommending any literal imitation of any foreign system. We must follow our own ways; but at the same time we should endeavour to learn from the experience of other nations, and adopt whatever ideas are found to be wise and good. Indeed, Scotland was before most of the foreign nations whose institutions we now study in the enunciation of the ideas which they have carried out. At an early stage of its history the opinion was insisted on that legislation ought not to be piecemeal, and that it is next to hopeless to expect that there will ever be a good system of secondary education until it is treated both as a whole and in relation to primary and university education. It assuredly is a tendency of the Scotch mind to deal with such a subject in its totality. At least, it is certain that John Knox and his fellow-ministers did so in the 'Book of Discipline,' for there provision is made for the whole of education: for every church, or, as we should say now, every parish, was to have its schoolmaster. 'And farther,' it says, 'we think it expedient that in every notable town, and especially in the town of the Superintendent, be erected a College in which the Arts, at least Logic and Rhetoric, together with the Tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed: as also provision for those that be poor and be not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, especially such as come from landward.' The one set of educational institutions was to work into the other, and no one was to be admitted to the university unless he had, 'from the master of the school, and the minister of the town where he was instructed in the Tongues, a testimonial of his learning, docility, age and

parentage, and likewise, trial to be taken by certain examiners deputed by the Rectors and Principals of the same, and if he be found sufficiently instructed in Dialectic, he shall incontinent, that same year, be promoted to the class of mathematic.'

John Knox says that he inserted the whole of this 'Book of Discipline' in his history, 'to the end that the posterities to come may judge as well what the worldlings refused as what policy the godly ministers required; that they, if God grant them occasion and liberty, may either establish a more perfect or else imitate that which avaritiousness would not suffer this corrupt generation to approve.'

The 'worldlings' did refuse what was offered them, and preferred to put the money of the Church and the Schools into their own pockets; and from 1560 to the present day there would appear to have been corrupt generations, who were prevented by 'avaritiousness' or some other cause from imitating, or at anyrate realizing by legislation that which had been so splendidly sketched out in the times of the Reformation. Surely the time has now arrived when this work, acknowledged on all hands to be urgent, should be done thoroughly and wisely.

J. DONALDSON.

## ART. IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

## GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (November, December).—The first of these numbers opens with a poetical contribution from the pen of Herr Julius Rodenberg, who brings his tribute of congratulation and praise to the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Weimar on the occasion of their golden wedding.—This is followed by an excellently written and touching sketch of village life, 'Eine Todtenwacht,' by Frau Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach.—Professor Hermann Grimm, in an essay which he entitles 'Leonore von Este,' contributes a thoughtful study of Goethe's 'Tasso.' The writer not only considers the chief characters of the dramatic poem, but also indicates its more personal connection with the poet himself.—In a concluding instalment of his paper on 'Mount Blanc,' Herr Paul Güszfeldt gives a most interesting account of his last ascent and of the observations which he was able to make in the course of it.—The French historian, Arthur Chuquet, and his work 'Les Guerres de la Révolution,' are dealt with by Herr Ludwig Bamberger in a most instructive, interesting, and appreciative essay.—In the concluding part of his literary and historical paper, 'Florence and Dante,' Herr Otto Hartwig deals with the later incidents of the poet's career.—In this number a new writer, Marie von Bunsen, comes before the public as a novelist. The story of Berlin society which she here opens, promises well. There is some clever sketching in her description of a reception at Court, and of a debate in the Reichstag.—The December number is very fittingly opened by a ghost story. That it is very much above the average of such productions may be gathered from the simple fact that it appears under the signature of Paul Heyse.—Another name equally well known, though in a different sphere, figures in the table of contents, that of Professor du Bois-Reymond. He takes for his subject 'Mau-pertius,' the scientist whom Frederick the Great called to Berlin, to be the Director of his Academy, and who soon got entangled in a quarrel with Voltaire.—Whilst Herr Philipp Spitta treats of 'Robert Schumann' as a writer, Herr R. A. Lipsius gives a sketch of 'Melancthon,' Luther's friend. The latter essay deserves very high praise for its high literary excellence, no less than for the impartiality which it displays.—Worthy of notice, too, is the sketch of 'Pierre Loti,' which is, being interpreted, Julien Viaud, a lieutenant in the navy, and since last April, a member of the French Academy.



WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (November, December).—Several of the items in the table of contents for the first of these numbers are continuations or conclusions of contributions begun in former numbers. Thus Ossip Schubin brings a further instalment of the novelette 'Toter Frühling;' Emin Pacha's last diary is advanced a stage, as are also Lily von Kretschman's 'Eine weimarische Fürstentochter,' and Countess Marie Urussow's 'Pictures from Spain.' These are followed by a very readable essay by Herr Adolf Stern, who takes for his subject 'Friedrich Bodenstedt,' and gives an excellent sketch of the poet's career and works.—Herr Sigmund Münz sketches the life of Lorenzo the Magnificent, without, however, throwing much new light on the subject.—Herr Paul Robrau and Herr Hans Olden each contribute a novelette. One of these is entitled 'Verschämte Liebe,' the other 'Kabus' Brautfahrt.'—In the December number Herr Gerhard Rohlfs has an interesting sketch of Algeria and Oran, it is accompanied by eight excellent illustrations.—The painter Niccolo Barabino and his works, of which several samples are given, is the subject of a very readable paper by Therese Höpfner.—Ulfilas and his Gothic translation of the Bible are made the subject of a short but interesting essay by Herr Ernst Eckstein.—In another equally readable, Herr Franz Fetzner explains how trade was carried on among the ancient Germans.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (November, December).—The last instalment of Mr. Marion Crawford's 'Zoroaster,' stands as the first item in the table of contents of the November part. Besides this there is not a very great deal which appeals to the general reader. If he should care for detailed information on the subject of the new Dutch income-tax, he will get it from the elaborate, but certainly not very light article contributed by Dr. Gustav König.—Equally solid is the paper—it might almost be called a treatise—in which Herr Rudolph Eberstadt sets forth the reforms which he considers necessary in the communal administration of Berlin, and the principles according to which they should be carried out.—In addition to this, there is a notice of the second volume of Julius Froebel's autobiography.—The article in which the majority of readers will find most interest is that which Herr Minor devotes to Christian Frederick Schwan, whose name in connection with Schiller's cannot be wholly unfamiliar to those who have some knowledge of the literary history of the period, and who would have achieved greater fame if it had not been his fate to be eclipsed by the greater celebrities of his time.—The December number brings a translation from Bret-Harte, 'Der Onkel aus Californien.' It is the last time

these German versions of foreign works of fiction are to appear. The new-year is to bring a change in the contents of this periodical; and it will henceforth contain selected articles from other magazines and reviews.—In a lengthy essay, which he entitles ‘*Ein deutscher Kleinstaat in der französischen Revolution*,’ Herr Max Lenz gives a sketch of the condition of Baden at the close of the last century.—‘*Goethe and Friederike*,’ by Herr Albert Bielschowsky, is an important contribution to the biography of the German poet. The writer takes up the cudgels for Friederike, and shows how utterly unfounded are the accusations which have been brought against her.—The cause and origin of the war of 1870 are made the subject of an interesting paper by Professor Delbrück, who contends that there was no suspicion in Berlin that the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern would give umbrage to France and lead to a conflict between the two nations.—The number closes with a contribution which, for the information which it contains on a subject of considerable interest, deserves to be specially pointed out. It is written by a lady-Doctor of Philosophy, Frau Cläre Schubert-Feder, and describes the life of the fair girl-undergraduates in Zürich.

**THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN** (No. 1, 1893).—One of the most perplexing chapters in the collection of prophecies placed under the name of Isaiah is chapter xxviii. Every critical exponent of the book has ventured to express his opinions on it only with hesitancy, or has acknowledged his inability to speak with confidence on it at all. Its text is admittedly corrupt, and the circumstances in Israel’s history to which it alludes are so vaguely referred to as to leave room for almost endless conjecture. Professor J. Meinhold, of Bonn, devotes here a long exegetical article to it, and seeks to solve some of its many difficulties. We can only mention his article here, and commend it to the attention of Biblical students as a scholarly, painstaking, and sober piece of exegetical work, which reflects the highest credit on its author. The points discussed are so numerous and intricate that we could do justice to none of them in the space at our disposal.—An extremely interesting paper follows on the obscure sect of the Nicolaitans. It is from the pen of Herr Pfarrer Leonhard Seesemann. He adduces what is said of the sect in the Epistles to the Churches of Ephesus and Pergamos in the Apocalypse. He finds something additional as to it in the Epistle to the Church at Thyatira, though in that epistle it is not directly named. He infers from these references to the Nicolaitans, that up to the time at least of the composition of the epistles the sect was not so much distinguished by its

doctrinal heresies, as by the life its adherents led. They were guilty of arts which the writer of the epistles regarded with abhorrence, and condemned as inimical to the purity and prosperity of the Church of Christ. They were guilty of eating things that had been sacrificed to idols, and of licentiousness. Their teaching is put on the same level as the advice given by Balaam to Balak, the advice, namely, to seduce the Israelites to immoral indulgences. In the epistle to the Church at Thyatira the Nicolaitans are referred to, though not directly named, as boasting that they 'knew the depths of Satan.' This leads Herr Seesemann to conclude that this sect was imbued with the current Gnostic ideas as to the origin of evil and methods of mastering it. According to these ideas evil was inherently rooted in matter—in the flesh—in the body. The body was the seat and instrument of Satan. The best method, or at least the surest and safest method of getting freed from its pernicious influence was to indulge in fleshly lusts, and thus exhaust the body's strength. The eating of things offered to idols had the same effect. These were defiled, and the consumption of them hastened the body's destruction. The members of the sect, our author infers, were Gentile, and not Jewish Christians. He traces the subsequent history of the sect so far as it can be traced in the references to it by the 'Fathers,' and then discusses the question as to the connection of the sect with Nicolas, the 'deacon' mentioned in Acts vi. It was traced back to him by Irenaeus, and Herr Seesemann thinks there may be some truth in the tradition, and shows how Nicolas may have contributed to the originating of these errors. This will not, however, we think stand examination, and even Herr Seesemann's explanation of how it *might have come about* that Nicholas gave the impulse to the movement is very improbable.—The other articles in this number are, 'Ueber Konrad Wimpina,' by Dr. N Müller, 'Jean de Labadies Separations gemeinde und Zinzendorfs Bruder-Unität,' by Her Max Bajorath, and two exegetical studies on Phil. ii. 5, and Phil. ii. 6.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN.—(No. 2, 1893).—Dr. Wendt's work, 'Der Inhalt der Lehre Jesu,' which has been recently made accessible to English readers by the Rev. John Wilson's excellent translation, published by the Messrs. Clark, Edinburgh, is the subject of criticism in almost all the Continental Theological Journals. Dr. Frich Haupt devotes here a few pages to one of the positions taken up by Dr. Wendt in his work—that, namely, with respect to the Gospel of John. The Heidelberg Professor of Church History and Dogmatics

contends that the fourth Gospel is based upon an authentic collection of the Discourses of Jesus, composed, or written down, by John the Apostle, and owes its present form to the hand of a later redactor. Dr. W. thinks it possible to separate what belongs to the original work, and endeavours to show how it may be done. Dr. Haupt here subjects his proofs to a searching critical examination, and they come out from it rather the worse of the fierce light here poured on them. Our author gives Dr. W. credit for producing a somewhat plausible case at first sight, but goes on to prove that it will not stand minute examination. His criticism will no doubt lead Dr. W. to reconsider his position, for the criticism is eminently just.—Dr. Johannes Dräeske of Wandsbeck discusses the authenticity of two of the works attributed to Athanasius, that against the Greeks or Hellenes, and that on the Incarnation of the Logos.—The other articles in this number are, ‘*Der germanische Satisfaktionsbegriff in der Versöhnungslehre*,’ by Prof. Cremer of Griefswald; ‘*Die Stellung der christlichen Ethik zur Kultur und Humanität, mit Bezug auf H. Weiss, Einleitung in die christliche Ethik*,’ by August Dörner; and ‘*Das landesherrliche Ehescheidungsrecht*,’ by Dr. Karl Rieker. Dr. Karl Budde has also a very valuable study on the books of Habakkuk and Zephaniah.

#### RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (QUESTIONS PHILOSOPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL).—The fourteenth number begins with the concluding paper by Prince E. Trubetskoi, of his series on the Philosophy of the Christian Theocracy of the fifth century. He takes up here the remaining part of the analysis of Augustine’s great work—the *De Civitate Dei*, and follows it up to its conclusion. In his doctrine concerning the Constitution of the City of God, one rediscovers the great ideal that was present to the mind of Plato; while the legalisms of Rome is also present in his thoughts concerning the theocratic ideal. Like the ideal commonwealth of Plato, the *Civitas Dei* must be a kingdom of the supersensuous ideal. If Plato had seen, so we read in one of the early productions of Augustine, how the authority of the Church turns whole nations from the service of the flesh and its lusts to the one divine wisdom, from the false and spectral, sensuous world, where all is carried away by the tide of time and change, to the supersensuous and unchangeable truth; from the deceitful opinions of men to certain knowledge; and from the many joys of earth, to the eternal blessedness of heaven—then Plato, without all doubt, would have trusted in such divine

authority. Perhaps, even the Roman lawyers themselves, would have recognized in the City of God, their own ideal of a universal, world-wide law, and the eternally immoveable and divine rule. The fundamental principles of the doctrines of St. Augustine were implied in the foundation of the mediæval Catholic theocracy. The unity of the universal structure; the cosmical significance of the kingdom of God; the objectivity and universality of its divine foundation lay in the grace of God, as the organizing, social principle; the power of the Church over the world—all these thoughts of the Augustinian doctrine ought to be taken note of as the necessary presupposition of the mediæval theocratic world-conception. The City of God is this ideal plan, the programme, towards the effectuation of which tended the whole of mediæval Catholicism. And, nevertheless, it must be admitted, that there was present in the doctrine of the great Father of the Church, elements which were both anti-Catholic and anti-hierarchical, thanks to which, the whole anti-clerical movements of the Middle Ages were kindled and inspired by the thought of Augustine and profited by his teachings, as a weapon in the conflict against the Romish Church. The problem of our research we cannot count to be complete until we have shown how it was possible that Augustine could at once be the originator of Catholicism and Protestantism, the Father of the Latin Theocracy and forerunner of Evangelical Christianity! The solution of this problem Prince Trubetskoi finds in Augustine's doctrine of grace, by the predestination of which the saved are saved from all eternity! As the incarnation of absolute, all-powerful grace, the Church is all-powerful, and has all power in heaven and on earth. But on the other hand, the *visible* Church is only a temporal manifestation of this grace. From its eternal nature, grace is not bound to the historical forms of its temporal activity. As an external content, it is not confined within the circle of the earthly Christian society, and constantly rends asunder the links, temporal and earthly, within which it is supposed to be confined. It is a power, acting always and everywhere, it saves without and beyond the historical Church, when and where it pleases! The visible Church is thus exalted as the embodiment and kingdom of grace, but at the same time it is brought down to be its merely temporal organ, apart from which the grace of God also flows out in manifold wise. This dualism in the relation of Augustine to the visible Church, made him equally the Father of Western Christianity, in both divisions. On the one side, Grace, as the organic element, is embodied in the all-powerful social organization of Christianity, as the Catholic principle. On the other



side, Grace, saving men without human instrumentality, without the hierarchy and the sacraments of the earthly Church, is that element in the teaching of St. Augustine, which makes him the originator also of the whole Protestant system!—Upon this able and interesting exposition of St. Augustine's doctrine, follows M. Wautsoff's account of the doctrines and scientific conclusions of Professor Huxley, as 'presenting the world-conceptions of our own time.' Here we have, first, the presentation of the properties of Protoplasm, as the receptacle of the molecular forces which manifest themselves in the different forms of living activity. The whole conditions of consciousness constitute the expression of the molecular changes in this living matter, serving as the source of all the phenomena of life. We are then introduced to the contemporary of Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood—Renée Descartes, as the great thinker, whom Professor Huxley specially delights to follow, and who, when asked where was his library? showed the questioner his dissecting-room with the scalpels and instruments of which he made use, with the remark 'Behold my library!' and from whom we have extracts from Articles xxxiii. v., and vii. of *Les Passions de l'Ame*, with eulogies of their spirit, and from which it is needful only to separate a few antiquated notions to reconcile them fully with the science of the present. There is further citations of passages from the *Dioptrique*, 4th discours, and *Pass. de l'Ame*, xxxvi., xiii. and xlii., all dealing with the view, that animals are only machines or automata, and showing, moreover, the concurrence of the animal and the human, although the hypothesis of Descartes cannot be accepted in its full extent.—Passing to the physiological details of the connection between mind and matter, we have three completely irreconcilable statements of their commerce—(1) That there exists a non-material substance of the mind, which is exposed to action on the part of the sensorium, and so excites sensation.—(2) That sensation is the immediate result of the mode of motion of the sensorium excited without any interference of a spiritual substance.—(3) That it is not the consequence of the movement of the sensorium, but an accompaniment.—These three statements of theory, neither of which admits of proof, are discussed as possessing more or less probability, each having their partisans, Huxley himself inclining to the second. That a known relation between consciousness and molecular motion exists is evident, and that the one may be expressed in terms of the other. The lengthened discussion of Professor Huxley's views on this point is summed up thus:—We are conscious automata, possessing free will in the only conceiv-

able sense of this much abused term, that we are capable in many relations of doing what we please, but, nevertheless we are parts of a great series of causes and effects, in an uninterrupted sum of existents.—M. Ivantzoff goes with great patience through the whole course of Professor Huxley's writings, and sums them up, pretty nearly in the same sense as Professor Huxley's 'Irenicon,' published so lately in the *Fortnightly Review*.—The third article also, a concluding one, is M. Astafieff's examination of Professor Strunnikoff's views on 'Will in Knowledge,' and 'Will in Faith.' After a very lengthened and subtle discussion of the terms from a metaphysical point of view, in which it is impossible for us to follow him, he puts the case as follows—'Even Professor Strunnikoff, though he diligently tries to show that Faith and Knowledge are in substance identical, yet he admits that unbelief is everywhere in Holy Scripture ascribed to Freedom combined with hardness of heart and fearfulness of disposition (as we have in Revelation the "fearful and unbelieving" coupled), and not to ignorance.' He further admits that Faith is reckoned or counted to one (as to Abraham), because that it is a voluntary, conscious acceptance of Truth, since whosoever wishes, can always reasonably and firmly convince himself of the truths of Faith: he, moreover, leads a mass of proofs and authorities confirmatory that Faith and Unbelief are the business of the Will, and cites authorities to the same effect. And yet, after all, he denies the essential difference between Knowledge and Faith in their subjective, formal conditions!—The article which follows is by the well-known Russian thinker, Vladimir Solovieff, and its designation is the 'Significance of Love.' This, as regards the passion between the sexes, is usually believed to exist for the propagation of the race, for which it serves as the means. But this M. Solovieff denies, and that on the ground of Natural History. The multiplication of living beings goes forward largely without sexual love, as is clear from the fact that it takes place where there is no division into sexes. A considerable part of organic Nature, both animal and vegetable, multiplies without sexual variety,—as by fission; by budding; by spores and by grafting. True, the higher forms both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms propagate by sexual means. But at the same time, vegetable and even animal organisms can also multiply in unsexual fashion, as engrafting with plants and parthenogenesis with the higher insects, and secondly, leaving this out of account, and receiving as a general rule that the higher organisms multiply by means of sexual union, we must conclude that this sexual factor is not connected, as a general rule, with sexual union, since it can also take place without it, unless in

the very highest animals. But when we look at the matter more generally, we find that sexual love has a tendency to separate itself from the production of offspring. In the fishes the relation is far from a close one, and so in many of the other creatures. In man sexual love tends to separate itself from the production of offspring, inasmuch that all great and tragical passions end in the destruction of the persons loving, as Romeo and Juliet, or fatal obstacles intervene, such as the Hellespont between Leander and Hero. When we come to sacred history the importance of great passions and fervent love sinks still more, and although Sarah bears a son to Abraham, it is only when the earthly passion has died out. Even when greatly passionate love ends in marriage, the marriage is often unfruitful, or the offspring corresponds but little to the celebrity of the parents! M. Solovieff thinks that sexual love tends to concentrate itself in humanity, and that not for the production of offspring.—To this article succeeds one on the question of 'Consciousness,' in relation to the statement of Wundt, that 'if it is impossible to express the distinguishing signs of conscious and unconscious conditions, it becomes the less possible to give the determination of consciousness itself.' The author, Mr. Xaritonoff, makes a variety of remarks, some of them interesting, on the question but too loosely connected to be summed up in four words. The article is, moreover, not concluded.—M. B. Rosanoff follows with an article on the aim of human life, more especially as to whether the idea of happiness is to be taken as the highest element of life? This question the author is compelled to answer in the negative. Happiness or a pleasant state of feeling does not always reveal to us the path of duty, or what we ought to do, and finally, though he does not conclude the article, he comes to the same conclusion with John Stuart Mill, quoted in a note from his autobiography, that we must in order to be happy set before us some other conscious aim than the idea of *happiness* itself. M. Rosanoff says that, had Mill taken another step he would have understood the root error of Utilitarianism. Perhaps this is true, but the author seems to fancy, however, that the mere utility of the aim seems to be weakened or to weaken one in consciously working forward to it! But surely the idea of duty arising from the fundamental conception of man's destiny as a reasonable or accountable being, and the part of duty as a fact of the consciousness will reveal the end and aim of life, to reach forward to which will give the highest enjoyment!—The special section of the journal contains several able papers, *e.g.*, the first article, which is a notice of the life and writings of Prof. Kudräftseff, late professor in the Moscow Uni-

versity, who it appears was the founder of a system of Transcendental Monism, of which an account is given in the article. The second paper is on zoological psychology, or zoopsychology, containing some interesting researches on instinct, in connection with Mr. Romanes' last work. The author is M. Wagner.—A paper on the Law of Perception by H. Lange, and finally a paper by L. Lopatin on the question of Mathematical Truth, concludes the number, save the usual reviews and bibliographical matter.

**ROOSKAHYAH MYSL**—*Russian Opinion* (October and November, 1892).—This huge monthly still holds its course, and we congratulate its editor, Mr. Lavroff, on his wonderful success in maintaining such a high standard of excellence, a by no means easy task with such frequent issues. The many lengthy serials continued from month to month, which are admitted, help to reduce the number of items, and in a certain sense to reduce the editor's labour; but much remains for that gentleman's adjudication, or to furnish from his own pen. The power of endurance which the Slavic races possess in such abundant supply is the cause which must be credited with this unusual literary effect.—Of the serial works commenced previously to May and alluded to in our last two notices, the following six have been concluded in the interval which has elapsed down to the date of the first of the two present numbers under review. (1) Materials for a history of the last Kirghiz rising, furnished by N. A. Sereda, under the title 'History of the War on the Orenburg Frontier;' (2) 'Lyouboff,' a lengthy romance by I. N. Potapenko; (3) 'A Few Years in the Country,' a lively tale of domestic life, by N. Garin; (4) E. P. Karpoff's novel entitled 'Nah Pakhotey,' another rural tale; (5) 'Fortuna,' a Norwegian romance by Alexander Killand, translated by E. R.; and (6) 'The Armenian Question in Turkey,' an important contribution to current foreign politics, by a Stamboul publicist, D. G. A.—In our two present numbers we have two-thirds of a tale entitled 'Not that Calico,' a smart lively piece of writing by I. A. Saloff.—'Poetry' is represented by D. S. Merezhofski and V. L. Velichko.—Two thirds of another tale, or as it is styled 'Romance,' entitled 'Nah Zahkatey,' is translated by M. from the French 'Sur le retour' of Polyah (?) Marguerite.—'Broken Fortune' is a romance by Edward Bertsa, commenced in September and running into the December number. It is translated from the German by V. M. R.—An essay on 'Swiss Villages' is written by E.—A most erudite set of papers worthy of study have been furnished monthly since June last (August excepted) by M. S. Koreylin, entitled 'The Culture Crisis of the Roman Empire.'—'Scientific

Views' contain papers on 'Anti-contagious means and Disinfection,' by K. I. Toomski, and on the newly-discovered 'Tractate of Aristotle on the Athenian Government,' by P. G. Vinogradoff. — 'Foreign Review,' by V. A. Goltseff, contains notices of German, French, Austrian, Swedish, Belgium, and Greek affairs. In the French department much more notice is given to the Centenary of the First Republic and the death of M. Renan than might have been expected in the pages of a Russian periodical. — 'Contemporary Art' is devoted to Moscow theatrical reports of little interest to foreign non-playgoers. — The most interesting portion of the 'Home Review' is that recording the 500th anniversary of the founding of the great Lavra (or monastery of the first class) of St. Sergius, about 40 miles from Moscow, on the way to Yaroslaff. — The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of seventy-eight works, one only of which is from the English, viz., 'The History of the English People,' by John Richard Green, translated by P. Nicolaieff. — 'The Literary Remains of Kavelin' (1847 to 1884) prefaced and annotated by D. A. Korsakoff, are still continued. — 'Aglahyah,' a tale reminiscent of the good old times is furnished by M. Anyoutin, a pseudonym of M. N. Remezoff. — 'Kikeshya Ochnoolsyah,' a domestic story, is signed anonymously 'Ivanovich.' — 'Husbandry of the Educated Classes,' is discussed by A. A. Isahyeff. — An essay by A. N. Philippoff, on 'Speranski as a Codifier of Russian Rights,' fairly well exhausts the October number. — The specialities for November (all articles carried over from October being already treated of) are few but important. Among them is one-half of a romance, entitled 'At the Dawn' (Nah Zarey) by G. A. Machtet; a serious paper on the 'Indebtedness of the different County Administrations of Russia,' by E. I. Zhigacheff; one-half of an essay entitled 'The Bellettered-Publicist,' giving an account of the romance writing power of the celebrated Boborykin, by M. A. Protopopoff; another article on 'Literature and Life,' by N. K. Michaelofski; and a necrology of the lamented man of letters, I. I. Dityahtin, deceased the 29th October (November 10th) last, by his friend V. A. Goltseff, foreign reviewer of the *Rooskayah Mysl*.

#### ITALY.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANA (No. 3, 1892), Contains 'A Dissertation on the question whether the *Castrum Apputiense* in the letter of St. Gregory was the Modern Teramao,' by F. Savini. — 'Charles V. and Spiro in 1544,' by L. Staffeth. — 'A Popular Chronicler during the French Domination of Tuscany,' by G.



Rondone.—‘Baptismal Fonts, apropos of the Verses 16 to 21 in Canto XIX. of Dante’s *Inferno*,’ by A. Virgili.—‘The Proceedings of the Colombaria Society in Rome in 1891, 1892,’ by A. Alfano.

L’ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (Year 17, No. III.)—Besides the continuation of the several histories begun in previous numbers, there are here an article by L. Volpicello on ‘The Great Bell of Aquila,’ with notices of the artists who founded it. The bell weighed 22,000 pounds, and at its call to war, 30,000 soldiers were immediately under arms, for in the fifteenth century, Aquila was the most powerful city in Italy. This bell was replaced by many others, one of which fell and was broken during the great earthquake of 1451. The fate of the last of these bells was decided on the 20th February 1544, when, by order of the then Governor of Abruzzi, it was taken down to be melted for cannon.—Another short paper refers to the artists who were employed in decorating the church of San Martino, near Naples, and a fine coloured map, by B. Capasso, of the Duchy of Naples in the eleventh century, with the Greek and Longobardian territories, is adjoined to the number.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA.—(October 1st).—J. Cantalamessa, in ‘Venetian Artists in the Marches,’ tells us that throughout the middle ages there existed, in the region from Ancona to Trento, an uninterrupted series of painters, of whose works some traces are still from time to time discovered. Quite lately, in the Church of St. Vittore in Ascolipiceno, two strata of frescoes from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, were found. The writer, in his interesting article, mentions many works, both of painting and architecture, and many names of artists of the Renaissance in that region, dwelling more at length upon the life and works of Carlo Crivelli, born about 1430; and Lorenzo Lotto.—E. Masi, in a paper entitled ‘Italian Life,’ as pictured by a novelist of the fifteenth century, claims for Bandello the first place as furnishing a truthfully historical picture, in his tales and dedications, of the life of the period.—From the speech by Goschen at Leeds, in 1891, and various other discourses and pamphlets on the Banking Question, G. R. Salerno draws facts for an article on that question in England.—T. Cassini describes the exile of the Italian patriot, Terenz Mamiani, who, after having acted as Minister of the Interior, during the Revolution of 1831, refused to put his name to the Act of Capitulation of Ancona, and became an exile for many years.—E. Castelnuovo’s novel, ‘An Unfortunate,’ is continued.—P. Mantegazza furnishes a page

of Psychology, as he calls it, in an interesting description of the character of the Spaniards, written with all his usual vivacity. He sums up his judgment of the Spaniards as follows: 'The Spaniard is a mystic, an eloquent, idle, frank man, a lover of his country; gallant, chivalrous, patient, and rather cruel. When he has banished the bull-fight from his amusements, we will cancel the last adjective from his name, and then we can expect from his noble and attractive qualities that the Spaniard will be ready to amalgamate with the cultured of other nations, and form the future strong and noble European citizen.—N. E. Mancini writes on 'Hallucination and Occultism, according to modern Hypotheses.'—(October, 16th).—E. Nencione gives a short account of the works of Tennyson, with frequent prose translations from different poems. He describes very briefly Tennyson's illness and death; of the latter he says: 'I have never heard of such a beautiful, touching and solemn death of a poet since that of Walter Scott.'—His assertion that, Browning and Tennyson being no more, Charles Algernon Swinburne remains 'the undisputed king of English poetry,' will be perhaps demurred to by many critics.—A. Franchetti reviews Professor Turelli's sketch of 'A Project of National Education in Italy.'—XXX. discusses the military manœuvres of 1892 and their critics.—E. Masi's article is continued.—E. Arbib writes on the Seventeenth Legislature.—L. Pullé contributes a chapter from a book to be published shortly, entitled 'Military Records.' This chapter relates an incident that occurred at Misilmeri, which tends to explain the past and present existence of brigandage in Sicily.—In the 'Bibliographical Bulletin,' while justice is done to the value of David Schloss's book on the *Method of Industrial Remuneration*, the critic says that the author has unfortunately made no attempt to co-ordinate the facts he has collected with some general principle.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA—(November, 1st).—C. A. Cesareo devotes a long article to Ernest Renan, inquiring into the reason why that philosopher never had the power or will to create a system, and never persuaded or convinced his readers. The writer thinks it was because Renan was a sceptic, who was the first to doubt what he himself had said. Cesareo traces the elements in Renan's life which made him what he was.—A paper by XXX. is commenced on the Custom-House Politics and Commercial Treaties of 1892.—E. Masi's pictures of Italian life from the works of a fifteenth century author are concluded.—(Nov. 16th).—L. Luzatti writes in proof of his assertion that nearly all the practical reforms in favour of the working classes

in England had already assumed a concrete form before the seventeenth century.—'Lovers and Imitators of Shakespeare before Manzoni,' is an interesting paper by M. Scherillo.—L. Palma follows with an article on 'The Ideal and the Real in Politics.' 'Manin in Exile,' is a sketch founded on some inedited papers by T. Casini.—XXX contributes the second part of 'Custom-house Politics and the Treaties of Commerce in 1892.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA.—(December 1st.)—Signor Bonghi publishes some open letters to the Pope, which have already been noticed by the press.—C. Canton concludes his observations on 'Freedom of Instruction in the Universities.'—E. Castelnuevo's story 'An Unfortunate,' is concluded.—'On the Juba,' is a sketch by A. C. Cecchi.—'Gymnastics and Preparation for War,' and an article on the death of Admiral De St. Bon, are by L. Cisotti and R. De Zerbi respectively.—December 16th.—The latest observations of the planet Mars are summarized by G. Celoria.—E. Nencione writes on the new French and Italian novels and romances. Speaking of the most notable of Italian novelists, he deplores, in the works of Gabriel D'Annunzio, his unfortunate predilection for morbid subjects. But D'Annunzio has undoubted genius and an enchanting style. Not yet twenty-nine years of age, he has already written twelve prose and poetic works which are none of them commonplace. His recent poetry shows great progress, and has sincere and moving accents, treating the themes of domestic and rural life with great power and tenderness. Nencione says that the modern taste for psychological and pathological romances is quite characteristic of the *fin de siècle*. Writers of all nations resemble each other in depicting human life as paralysed by influences independent of personal will, each individual seeking in vain to escape the fatal circle of heredity or surroundings. He notes another thing. The total want of the *natural human sympathy* which characterizes all great writers, from Shakespeare to Tolstoi. He believes that this comes from the utter absence of belief, 'There is no belief in anything,' he says. Modern Italian romances are perhaps more varied, and certainly less corrupt than French novels, and Italy is not so poor in such literature as is generally thought. A long list of notable names could be drawn up, and many of the writers are real masters in their art.—G. Ricci writes on the public service at the Exchequer and Banks.—'The Statue' is a short novel by Ugo Flores.—Follows 'Art and Religion,' the address given by Professor Mariano at the opening of this winter's study at the University of Naples.—Signor Bonghi gives a description of the English laws against

electoral corruption.—The Bibliographical Bulletin points out some defects in W. Smart's 'An Introduction to the Theory of Value,' and John Armsden's 'Value, a criticism, etc.'—'The Tomb of an African Explorer,' is an article by O. Marucchi, founded on Professor Schiaparelli's examination of the Egyptian tomb of the 6th Dynasty, discovered last winter near Assuan. Signor Marucchi sketches the history of the Dynasties of the Pharaohs, and especially the important reign of Pepi I. the warrior king, and then summarizes the facts and explanations given in Schiaparelli's work. The person buried in the tomb which is the subject of the article, was called Hirschuf, who was a high dignitary at the courts of Pepi I. and Pepi II. The inscriptions in the tomb consist of two groups, the first enumerating the titles of the defunct and the names of his nearest relations, and the second relating the journeys he undertook. Hirschuf was Governor of the Southern Provinces of Egypt, and also filled various sacerdotal offices. During his travels he pacified the Amam, Wabu and Wauat, penetrated into the then unknown interior, and returned laden with incense, ebony, leopard-skins, and elephant-tusks, and bringing with him a dwarf of the tribe of the Donka, who 'danced divinely,' says the inscription. The Amam country mentioned in the text must have been at a considerable distance from the valley of the Nile, for Hirschuf took eight months to reach it, and the things he brought back point to the climate of equatorial Africa. Other indications would seem to prove that the Amam was the present Egyptian Soudan, so that in the most distant times of the ancient Egyptians that people had frequent relations with the Soudan, and gathered tribute from that vast region. Schiaparelli, after careful study, has come to the conclusion that the 'Donka who danced divinely' was not one of the negro tribe now called Denka or Dinka, but one of the Pigmies spoken of by the ancients, who, as modern travellers declare, still exist to the south of Kaffa and on the upper Juba. In the inscriptions of the tomb at Assuan mention is also made of another dwarf brought by Urdudu from the land of Punt. All this proves that the Pharaohs, fifty centuries ago, amused themselves with keeping dwarfs at their courts, like the princes of Europe in later times.

LA RASSEGNA NATIONALE (October 1st, 16th; November 1st, 16th).—'Some Inedited Letters from Three Ministers of Massimo D'Azeglio's Cabinet.'—The first instalment of a criticism on Genni's work on liberty, and the continuation of previously commenced papers, fill a considerable portion of these numbers. There are, besides, a versified drama, entitled 'Christopher

Columbo,' a long criticism of Pietro Cossa's works, a paper on 'Noxious Dyes,' by L. Gabba; a story of 'An Ambassador of Louis XV.,' by V. D. Arisbo, who takes his facts from Perey's *Un Petit-Neveu de Mazarin*; and a prejudiced article by G. Grabinsky on Ernst Renan, whom he declares to be 'The type of a mis-believing, wicked epicurean, who revelled in honours and ease, was deplorably egotistical, and more avid of pleasure and applause than eager to promulgate his theories, which were worthy of the aberrations of his lost soul.'—The editor publishes the authentic text of the memoir which Padre Curci presented in his defence to the superior of the Society of Jesus, in September, 1877.—Another portion is given of the recollections of General Revel, narrating the events of 1860 to 1861, describing the occupation of Umbria, the Marches, and the Meridional Provinces. There are some interesting incidents. One relates how Revel, on pretence of a military report, obtained an interview with Garibaldi. 'Garibaldi,' says the General, 'was seated leaning on a table. He seemed sad. He fixed his eyes on me and never removed them. He saluted me with a gesture of his hand, and said, "Order what you like. You will find things less strictly regulated than in your army. If those who followed me too late had joined the camp at first, all would have been ended. "But with only the third part"—I was about to reply "the greater glory for the victor," but Garibaldi silently signed to me to leave him. I had come at a bad moment.' The trouble Revel had to ascertain who really belonged to the Southern army and had really rendered service in the war, is described with a touch of humour. He had to deal with 'red devils,' 'black devils,' the 'Legion of Death,' the sharpshooters of 'Ofanto,' of 'Taburno,' of the 'Gran Sasso,' the 'insurrectional forces of Salerno,' etc.; and at last, in a few months, the number of real officers of the Southern army was reduced from seven thousand to three thousand, and the common soldiers from fifty-one thousand to thirty thousand men.—A. Brunialti writes of the past and future of international arbitration; and C. Forte-Bracci on the story of Herodotus.—'Pax' gives an account of the Congress of Catholics held lately at Genoa, and X. of the Politico-Administrative condition of the Trentino.—December 1st.—P. Prada contributed a short life of the late Doctor V. De Wit, Philologist and Archæologist, who united 'the purest Roman classicism with the most fervent Christian piety.'—G. Fanti gives some account of the modern Italian poet, Severino Ferrari, whose themes are generally the domestic affections, or the scenes of his native land.—A. C. publishes two letters written by Fra Serafino, describing excursions made in Assiut in the beginning of last year.—P. Cor-



roni digs up, from the *Small Chronicles* of Florence, an account of the marriages of the daughters of the Queen of Naples, Marie Therese, and Luisa Amilia, and the subsequent events.—A. Conti discourses on Petrarch, whose importance has been better appreciated lately than ever before in our century, 'but,' says the writer, 'has not yet been entirely revealed.'

LA RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE (December 1st and 16th), contain, 'The Royal Speech and the Opening of the Eighteenth Legislature,' by the editor.—'The Action of Brussels for the Suppression of the Slave Trade,' by L. Palma.—'Prohibitive Taxes in Italy,' by E. Coppi.—'The Teaching of Statistics and the University Programmes,' by A. Errera.—'Old and New Senators,' by A. Brunialti.—'Agrarian Instruction in the Elementary Schools,' by A. Cotti.

#### GREECE.

JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF GREECE (Vol. IV., Pt. 13, Nov., 1892).—Dr. Maximilian Treu gives a description of a Milan MS. of Constantine Akropolites and prints some portion of the contents.—The k. Neroutsos continues his study of Christian Athens. This instalment deals with Athens under western domination. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople the Duchy of Athens was established. Under Otto de la Roche, the first Duke, the country had rest from the exactions to which it had been subjected under Byzantine rule. Many Greeks came to Athens from other parts, and along with the former inhabitants became tenants of the new feudal lords. At first the internal arrangements presented a curious compromise between the new and the old order. Roman law was in use among the natives, a modified system of feudal courts among the Burgundians. The Patriarch of Athens and the other prelates were Catholics, but the inferior clergy were Orthodox. After the return of the Greek Emperors, Orthodox Patriarchs of Athens continued to be appointed, but they were merely titular, and remained in Constantinople as advisers to the Patriarch.

#### FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. (No. 5, 1892).—M. J. Goldziher, under the title 'Le dénombrement des sectes Mohamétanes,' sets himself to correct an error into which so many historians, and writers on Mohammedanism, have fallen through a misinterpretation of a passage, in which Mohammed was thought to have spoken of the number of sects in Judaism,

Christianity, and Islam. Tradition attributes to him the assertion that there were '70 Jewish sects, 71 Christian sects, and 72 Mohammedan sects.' M. Goldziher touches briefly on the efforts made by many of the faithful and others to account for, or explain, the assertion, and then proceeds to show that the difficulty has been created by the misunderstanding of the real meaning, as employed here, of one term in the clause. It is the term *firkat*. He shows how this term may be rather read as denoting doctrine and not sect or division, precept and not party. Islam is regarded in the phrase in question, as a tree having so many branches, the branches being the virtues it produces. This point has been already brought out by M. Goldziher more elaborately in a Vienna periodical, but he wishes here to give his suggestion a wider circulation.—M. A. Audollent furnishes the 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion Romaine,' for the year 1891. He goes carefully over the discoveries made by the various excavating parties that have been at work for years in Italy, and chronicles their 'finds' during 1891, which in any way throw light on the ancient religious beliefs and rites of the country.—Two 'Contes Bouddhiques' follow. They are given here in the condensed form of notes taken from a lecture delivered by M. Sylvain Levi at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. They are titled 'Légende de Cakkhupala,' and 'Légende de Maddhakundali.'—M. A. Millioud continues his translation of the Japanese treatise on 'The Doctrines and sects of Buddhism.'—Professor Albert Reville pays a tribute of respect to the memory of M. Ernest Renan, as a savant and as an individual. His influence on the Science of Religions is of course here specially alluded to, and his loss to the great republic of letters is in touching and eloquent words deplored.

REVUE CELTIQUE (October, 1892).—This is an excellent number. The first place is given to a curious Ossian legend entitled 'Oscar na Súiste,' Oscar at the Stream, which Mr. Douglas Hyde has been fortunate enough to obtain from the lips of an old man in Roscommon, and appears to be one of the very few legends of Ossian which are still floating about among the people and not yet set down in writing. The legend consists for the most part of a dialogue between Oscar and St. Patrick, in which the former gives expression to some very peculiar theological ideas. Mr. Hyde gives both the text and a French translation of this curious and valuable morsel.—Dr. Whitley Stokes gives the text and English translation of 'The Battle of Mag Mucrimé.' The text has never before been printed. It is taken from the Book of Leinster, which, so far as can at present be as-

certained, contains the only copy of the tale known. It is a tale of vengeance for two groups of crimes. One of these groups was the murder of a fairy-king and the rape of his daughter. The other was the slaying of Art, the overlord of Ireland. The battle of Mag Mucrim is said to have been fought A.D. 195, on a plain near Athenry, in the present county of Galway, between Art, the Irish overlord, and Lugaid Mac-on, assisted by the Britons. It is mentioned by Tigernach and in the Annals of the Four Masters. As a specimen of Irish prose the tale is not particularly good. Dr. W. Stokes has furnished his text both with notes and index verborum as well as with a very readable translation.—In 'Les romans arthurien,' M. J. Loth discusses some of the theories which have recently been advanced as to the origin of the legends of the Round Table. In a subsequent article M. Loth proposes to examine Professor Rhys' recent volume on the Arthurian Legend.—In the 'Mélanges' there are several informing notes.—The only book reviewed is Dr. C. Paulio, *Die Veneter und ihre Schriftdenkmaler*.—In the *Nécrologie* M. D'Arbois de Jubainville pays a tribute to the late M. Renan.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS. (No. 6, 1892).—The first of a series of articles on Buddhism appears in this number. It is an anonymous article. The series is to treat, first, of the legend of Buddha; then of the Buddhistic Religion, 'so called;' next of the History of Buddhism; and lastly of Buddhism and Christianity. After an introductory section in justification of treating at such length as that proposed here so well-worn a subject, our author discusses the 'legend,' or what is reported as to the birth, life and work of the founder of Buddhism. He has no sympathy, of course, from the very nature of the journal in which his article appears, with the idea that Christian tradition owes anything to Buddhistic infiltrations into the West, and constantly takes care to show this. His treatment of the legend and of the life of Buddha is, however, characterised by fulness of knowledge and patient study of the sources. M. Sauveplane continues his translation of, and commentary on, the Gilgumos tablets, under the rubric, 'Une Epopée Babylonienne.' The usual 'Chronique,' and reviews follow.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (November, December).—The first of these four numbers opens with the last instalment of M. Edouard Rod's novel, 'La Vie Privée de Michel Teissier,' a powerfully written and interesting story, which shows how a young politician sacrificed his honour, his ambition, and his home under the influence of a strong but unlawful passion. It is not difficult to recall something similar in the history of

the last few years.—This is followed by an article in which M. G. Cavaignac considers the condition of agricultural holdings in Prussia.—The paper entitled 'Les Hallucinations Vériques et la Suggestion Mentale' deals with telepathic problems, without however arriving at any more satisfactory result than may be expressed by the familiar commonplace, 'There may be something in it, after all.'—To those who are interested in the questions lately discussed at the monetary conference, M. Cuheval-Clarigny's, 'L'Union Latine,' may be recommended. It does not deal directly with bimetallism, but traces the history of the Latin Union, and indicates what he believes to be the advantages which resulted from it.—The question of the best means of disposing of the sewage of the French capital is discussed by M. J. Fleury, in a paper entitled 'La Question des Egouts.' Although primarily of local interest, it may be read with profit on this side of the Channel as well, and there are a good many municipal bodies whose objection to sanitary schemes, on the score of expense, might be met by the question with which M. Fleury closes his paper, 'Do you prefer fever?'—An essay on Edgar Quinet, a summary of Scipio Sighele's work on the criminal classes, and a review of M. Paul Bourget's last novel, 'La Terre Promise,' close the number.—In the second number for November M. Berthelot sketches the history of distillation and of the discovery of alcohol, M. de Foville treats of the decrease of population in France and considers its causes and its probable results, and M. Cuheval-Clarigny concludes his paper, 'L' Union Latine et la Nouvelle Conférence Monétaire,' by a sketch of the silver question in America.—From the pen of M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogué, there is a very appreciative article on M. Renan.—The number bearing the date of the 1st of December contains three articles of special and very general interest. The first sketches the career of Eugène Burnouf, the celebrated orientalist; the next deals with the old chronicler Jean de Joinville, and the third has for its subject the literary reformer Malherbe. In addition to this, there are two papers descriptive of travels. One of them takes the reader through Macedonia, the other to the tropics.—The most notable contribution to the last number is M. Eugène Müntz's article on Michel Angelo.—There is also a continuation of M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's study, 'The Jews and Antisemitism.' In the present number he deals more particularly with the genius and the spirit of the Jewish race.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (No. 2. 1892).—The first place in this number is naturally given to the promised biographical sketch of M. Isidore Loeb, the late Editor of the *Revue*, and it is

accompanied with an admirable portrait of him. The sketch, for it pretends to be nothing more, is contributed by the Chief Rabbi of France, M. Zadoc Kahn, a life-long friend, who was associated with M. Loeb in almost all his public functions in Paris. What M. Kahn tells us here of M. Loeb's career and literary industry is extremely interesting, and reveals to us a character of rare unselfishness, sweetness and benevolence, and an erudition and fruitfulness almost unprecedented. A list of M. Loeb's works and of his contributions to encyclopædias and magazines, furnished by M. Israel Levi, covers no fewer than twelve pages of this *Revue*. And it is truly said of their author that he bestowed on everything he wrote the most painstaking care, and grudged no labour to be accurate in every detail and lucid in every phrase. He left several finished articles ready for the press, and some of these are to appear in the columns of this *Revue*. One of these, the last he had prepared of the series on the 'Literature of the Poor in the Bible,' appears in this number. It deals with the poetic pieces and fragments embodied in several of the prose books of the Old Testament, which M. Loeb thought had emanated from the sect or party called the Poor, or who called themselves by that name, and to whose literary activity he had in the previous papers of this series, as will be remembered by our readers, traced most of the Psalms and the whole of Deutero-Isaiah. The poetic pieces instanced by M. Loeb here are the song in Exodus xv.; the Blessing of Moses in Deut. xxxiii.; the Song of Deborah in Judges v.; and the third chapter of Habakkuk. These will be found, he says, to be all cast in the same form, directed towards the same end, and characterized by similar features. They all celebrate the military power of Jehovah and the victories which Israel had gained under His leading and with His help over their enemies. In each of them these victories are presented as the sure grounds of belief that He will yet restore to Zion its splendour and power, nay, will bring in the Messianic era, when all nations shall pay their homage to the throne of David and fill the treasury of the Holy City with their tribute. This belief is either clearly expressed or implied, and the *motif* of each of those songs is to strengthen that belief. M. Loeb subjects each of them to a minute critical analysis, and shows the character and language and aim which they have in common with the Psalms already analysed, and with the section known as Deutero-Isaiah. This series of papers, we learn from a later note, is to be published by themselves in book form, and no doubt in that form will attract considerable attention.—M. M. Vernes continues his article on the 'Song of Deborah.' In the previous number his analysis of the song reached the thirteenth verse.



The rest of the song is similarly dealt with here. Though he does not, like M. Loeb, assign its composition to the sect of the *au avim* or poor, he regards it as post exilic, and even late in post exilic times. His analysis of the song goes to show that its language and its allusions betray the late post exilic period, acquaintance with the Hexateuch in its present form and with the Historical Books and specially the Hagiographa. He places its composition in the fourth century, if not the third century, B.C. —The other important articles in this number are 'The Persian and Babylonian Feasts, or Festivals, mentioned in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds,' by M. A. Kohut, and 'An Episode in the Commercial History of the Jews in Languedoc,' by M. C. Bloch.

The NOUVELLE REVUE HISTORIQUE DE DROIT FRANCAIS ET ETRANGER, Juillet-Août, 1892, contains an interesting article by D. D'Arbois de Jubainville, entitled 'La Pignoris Capio,' in which he discusses the date of the *Senchus Mór*, its compilation and its contradictions in respect to the law of seizure in Ireland. As for the date of the *Senchus Mór*, the author is disposed, for reasons given, to name the year A.D. 800. The article has been issued separately and will repay perusal.

#### SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (November, December).—Why do we sleep? It has often been attempted to give an answer to the question; but as often as one physiologist has started a theory in explanation of the phenomenon another has come forward with objections to it. The latest attempt to solve the interesting problem has been made by a Russian scientist, M. Serguéyeff. The result of his studies and researches was lately given to the public in a work which bears the title of, 'Physiology of Waking and Sleeping.' Of this work M. Yung gives a short analysis in the first of these two numbers. From this it appears that Serguéyeff looks upon sleep as the special function of a particular organ.—The second and last part of 'Sœur Anne,' an interesting novelette bearing the signature of M. Philippe Monnier, is followed by a further instalment of the notes and impressions of a botanist, contributed under the title, 'Au cœur du Caucase,' by M. Emile Levier.—Readers who have followed M. Auguste Glardon through his interesting study, 'A travers la littérature Anglaise contemporaine,' will be pleased to find that the series is not yet exhausted. It is continued through both the present numbers. In the first of them he begins a study

of the psychological school as represented by 'Maxwell Gray,' 'Lucas Malet,' and Hall Caine, and gives a very clever analysis of 'The Silence of Dean Maitland,' and 'In the Heart of the Storm.' In the next and concluding part he deals with 'Colonel Enderby's Wife,' and 'The Wages of Sin,' the latter, in particular, being analysed with special care. This closes the series for the present, but there is a promise, which will be read with pleasure, of a continuation in which, amongst others the sensational school will be taken in hand.—Going back to the November part, we find the conclusion of M. Rod's 'Studies of Dante,' an article by M. Tallichet on free-trade and protectionism in Europe, and a further instalment of a story by M. T. Comte.—'Coeurs Lassés.' It is advanced another stage, but not concluded in the December number, which opens with a strangely-named paper by M. Paul Stapfer. His 'New Meditation of a Man of Letters on the Small Number of the Elect,' would scarcely suggest his real subject, which is purely literary, his object being to show how few contemporary writers have any chance of winning literary immortality.—The possibilities of 'Telephoty,' that is of the transmission of images by means of electricity is considered in a very interesting paper by M. van Muyden, who is not however very sanguine as to the near realisation of an invention which would enable us to see at a distance in the same manner as the telephone enables us to hear.—The concluding number of M. Levier's botanical papers, of Dr. Ledame's article on 'Moral Hygiene,' and a Russian story, together with the usual 'Chroniques,' complete the number.

#### SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA, *Revista Ibero-Americana* (October).—This magazine has become less and less national with the rolling years. Novels by Turgenieff and Tolstoi; dramas by Ibsen; tales by Daudet, Merimée, Maupassant, Richepin, and even H. de Balzac; and the original tale of the *Cavalleria Rusticana*, from the Italian of J. Verga, from which the opera is drawn, but little from the brain of modern Spain. There is an able paper on 'Pessimism in the Nineteenth Century,' by E. Caro, running through the three numbers to the end of the year, showing considerable acquaintance with European literature.—'The Salon of the Empress Josephine,' is a most interesting contribution to the private history of the Bonapartes, by Sofia Gay. When Napoleon I. was shown the relics of Charlemagne, he asked Dr. Corvisart as to the arm-bone shown. The Dr. smiled and kept silence. But pressed for a reply, he whispered that the

bone was a *tibia* belonging to the leg, perhaps of Charlemagne, but certainly no part of his arm. 'Hush! keep that to yourself,' was the Emperor's reply.—In 'Columbian Literature,' a high tribute is paid to the superior quality of the literary products of this Republic, of which a list of works is supplied.—'The critical review of the Centenary,' continues to supply particulars of the movement in honour of Columbus throughout the world, with too much of sameness to be interesting except as historical.—As usual the 'International Chronicle,' of Emilio Castelar, is the most valuable contribution. It supplies the matured opinions of Spain's most gifted politician, on the European situation, in which the position of Ireland is always carefully considered. His admiration for Gladstone is unbounded, as is natural in such a pronounced Republican Tribune of the People, not less gifted as an orator than Gladstone himself. He supports Morley's upholding and enforcing of the law in Ireland, even when he desires to supersede it, 'as every government must observe the laws even when endeavouring to improve them.' His description of Austria as a 'Noah's Ark' of Nationalities, is shrewd and clever, and he fully grasps her difficulties: while trusting to Gladstone to prevent an European embroglio through the Triple Alliance. He admires the 'synthetic intelligence' of Gladstone, so allied to the spirit of the Latin peoples, but wholly opposed to Opportunist Saxons.—Villegas' 'Literary Impressions' review some new American-Spanish words, while the 'Financial Review,' ably summarises the European discounts, and acknowledges with shame that Spain has the worst credit in Europe, not even excepting Portugal and Turkey.—(November).—In 'Nineteenth Century Pessimism,' the opinions of the Italian, French and German schools are well explained, with examples of their views, such as Leopardi's dialogue as to the past year when he was happy, the one he would choose to have repeated, and the conclusion that all happiness was in the future, and never arrived!—'A Salon in the month of December,' gives an amusing story of New Year's gifts, and draws with a sharp pencil the excitement and discontent that prevailed on the occasion of the receipt of inadequate gifts. It is by the pen also of Sofia Gay.—The lines entitled 'Filigranus,' are little 'sentiments' such as have gone long out of fashion amongst our robust minded population.—'The critical review of the Centenary,' continues its voluminous accounts: 'In England there was a re-union of Spaniards and Hispano-Americans, fraternising in a banquet presided over by the ambassador, which gave occasion for speeches and the despatch home of felicitations. The English, like the people of Northern Europe, so well associated with us in the general

gathering, and with official representation in our solemnities, for themselves have only held the Centenary in a literary character.' American 'functions' have made up for this. An important list of Centenary works is added.—Castelar explains the folly of the Queen Regent in not going to Granada. He holds that France and Belgium run equal risks, the one in exaggerating universal suffrage, the other in resisting it. He blames M. Loubet for the Anarchist excesses in France, declaring that the Republic being the best government, it could not find itself in worse hands.—The 'Literary Impressions' gives the place of honour to Castelar's work, the 'History of the Discovery of America,' introducing it with a glowing panegyric on his genius and eloquence.—(December).—'Pessimism in the Nineteenth Century,' is here concluded. It gives an account of Hartmann's 'Redemption of the world by voluntary suppression; an attempt at Cosmic suicide.' He concludes, 'The very excess of these negations and of these annihilations calm us, proving the artificial and passing character of the influence of this philosophy. . . . Useful and necessary activity, the duty of each day, save and will always save humanity from these passing temptations, and dissipate their nightmares. . . . The character of pessimism reveals its future: it is a philosophy of transition.'—'The Pedagogic Movement in Spain,' gives an account of the Pedagogic Congress, Hispano-Portugués-Americano, apparently the third. The sections were numerous and the discussions full, dealing with all questions from a broad aspect. The education of women was fully gone into, with its desirable limitations. It shows a powerful movement in Spain towards the highest national educational advantages.—'La Cantinera,' by Compoamer, is the brightest bit of rhythmical work we have met for some time from Spain; it is full of go and spirit.—V. Barrantes, in criticising a dramatic poem published in New York, by Francisco Sellén, continues his attack on those who accept Las Casas as a historian, and also those who would hold that the conquerors of America found a people and conditions superior to what they took there. Barrantes waxes indignant, and severely condemns the drama and its author. Castelar is despondent over the state of France, and the rest of Europe 'does not go well.'

#### HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (November).—This number devotes a good deal of space to Tennyson, containing, as it does, a eulogistic review of his career and works, and also the 'Coming of Arthur,' done into Dutch by Soera Rana, of which it can only be said that our bard

has not suffered more than might have been expected in the putting on of this rough integument.—There is a second article by Polak, on the rather dreary subject of 'Seneca Tragicus,' which, however, is not without many interesting points in regard to the time of the Roman Euripides, its philosophy, manners and beliefs, and most of all its deep corruption.—There is a short notice of the death of Hooijer, a frequent contributor to the *Gids*, and one to whom it owed many excellent articles on literary criticism.—Another article is a memorial of a much greater man, De Vries, the famous lexicographer and philologist, to whom Holland owes so much, and who was well known there as being also an academic orator of versatile powers. The paper is written by Cosijn, joint-editor with him in the well known dictionary, and a man fully in sympathy with all De Vries' work. It is a mistake to suppose that De Vries followed Grimm. On the contrary, he utterly rejected Grimm's method, and considered his dictionary as the least service he had ever rendered to philology. Anxious to save classical Dutch from ruin, he made it his aim to withstand its corruption. At one period of his work the withdrawal of a government subsidy seemed to others to have sounded the death knell of his work; but so great was De Vries' confidence that he exclaimed, when told of this shabby treatment, 'The Dictionary's prospects were never so good as at this moment,' and set to work as usual. He certainly ranks, as far as Dutch is concerned, with the names of Littré in France, and Grimm and Lachmann and Haupt in Germany.—A careful and strong article by Dyserinck is devoted to a close investigation of the mutual relation of the two friends, Agatha Wolff and Betje Deken, whose merit it was to write the first Dutch novels, and some poems, and to whom a monument was erected at Flushing in 1884. Shortly after that Busken Huet, in his 'Literary Fantasies,' had the hardihood to deny all merit of authorship to Agatha, making out that she was only a kind of private secretary and amanuensis to her friend. Dyserinck combats this view energetically, and brings more than sufficient proof to show that both ladies had an almost equal part in the productions that bore their names. He also shows how Busken Huet's allegation was an old story, begun when Betje was still living and hotly resented by her.—Two long articles, one in the December number, are devoted, by Professor J. T. Buys, to a consideration of the question of Universal Suffrage. He reviews its working in America and Switzerland, and notices the effects of the late extension in Belgium, but thinks that Holland, in respect to this question, had better leave well alone, at least if it cares to continue the present parliamen-



tary system.—December.—This number begins with a short but brilliant and life-like sketch, 'Baptism by Fire.' A young and an old officer leave home for Atjeh, and in successive conflicts with the natives, very graphically described, the young man gets his initiation.—Garner's book, 'Speech of Monkeys,' is scoffed at by Professor Hubrecht, who regards the author as a mere dilettante in science, and amuses himself by suggesting his affinity to Baron Münchhausen.—L. Simons takes up the subject of 'The Future of German Literature,' *apropos* of Grottewitz's book on the subject, and some other less important German publications. He considers Gerhard Hauptman's 'Die Weber,' is the best pledge for the future of German literary art.—Dr. Knappert in 'The Bible for our Children,' discusses the problem of how to give to the youth of Holland a knowledge of Bible literature, which it seems they are so totally ignorant of as to be incapable of understanding even such an allusion as 'Job's Messenger,' though they are quite at home with the *Niebelungs*, or with Ibsen. This ignorance implies a terrible loss in mental and moral training, quite independent of religion, but at the same time a religious training is the finest, and the only one that can produce beautiful characters in ordinary people. The Dutch State translation is antiquated, and is in some degree a hindrance, but selections for children and Oort and Hooijkaas' 'Bible for young people' are excellent helps. Yet the task is hopeless unless there be religious feeling in the hearts of the parents, and also no discordance between their lives and Bible teachings.

**THEOLOGISCHE TIDJSCHRIFT** (January).—The number opens with a long discussion of the recently discovered apology of Aristides, by Professor van Manen. This teacher is a stalwart upholder of the theory of the lateness of the Pauline writings, which, from its Dutch founder, we may call the romantic theory. To this view the apology can be made to yield considerable support, as the Christianity it upholds is one quite destitute of the distinctive Pauline teaching. That a Christian teaching should have flourished in Greece about 140 A.D., which shows no trace of Pauline doctrine, is a fact which requires explanation; but it may be explained otherwise than by the assumption that the Pauline Epistles did not then exist; and Dr. Van Manen allows that a number of passages in the apology remind us of Romans and Corinthians. These works then may have existed at the time, although their teaching was generally given up.—Professor Cheyne's 'Bampton Lectures on the Psalms,' are reviewed in this number, and it is curious to see our cautious English critic act cused by the Dutchman of yielding too many Psalms to the latest-

period. The arrangement of the book in sections, with cumbrous notes at the end, is much complained of; but the chief complaint is that justice is not done to the period between the Exile and the Maccabbees, which is said to be the chief period of the production of Psalms. Mr. Cheyne is also found fault with for allowing too much for the influence of Parsism on Jewish thought, which this critic estimates at the very lowest, if he does not deny it altogether. The religious tendencies of the Jews were capable of themselves of leading that people to such a belief in immortality, an undogmatic groping rather than a fixed tenet, as the Psalms display. We note that Dr. Kuenen's great *Onderzoek Inquiry*, into the books of the Old Testament, of which he completed two volumes and commenced the third, is to be finished by Dr. Matther, who will use the notes left by the great scholar, so far as they extend.

#### DENMARK.

MUSEUM.—Parts 9 and 10 of this periodical contain a long article by Capt. J. C. Johansen on 'King Jørgen Jørgensen,' the Dane who for a short time in 1809 made himself Governor of Iceland. The work of J. F. Hogan, ('The Convict King,' London, 1891), on the life of this remarkable person has awakened great interest in Denmark. The book itself has been translated, under the title of 'En deporteret Konge,' with some additions: there is this article of Captain Johansen's, which specially emphasises the share which the English merchant Phelps had in the affair; and in Icelandic there has just appeared a 'Saga Jörundar Hundadagakónge' by Jón Thorkelsson, with portraits and appendix of documents.

TILSKUEREN.—The Oct.-Nov. part contains of general interest a lecture on Hedda Gabler, by Hermann Bang. Ibsen's dramas, he says, represent the Egoist in the shape of a man, while woman is his judge, who condemns and forgives him. The author is fond of the phrase '*strugler of the life*,' (*sic*!) 'The Origin of Speech' by Dr. Jespersen contains nothing new.

NORDISK TIDSKRIFT FÖR FILOLOGI.—(3rd Series. Vol. I., Part 2.)—'On the relation between cause and effect, and the testimony of language thereto in certain forms of sentences especially in Greek,' by Prof. C. P. C. Schmidt. 'De ut particula,' by Prof. F. Gustafsson of Helsingfors.

NORDISK TIDSKRIFT FÖR VETENSKAP, KONST, OCH INDUSTRI.—(1892. Part 6.)—'Gold and Silver,' by H. Forssell, on the question of bimetallism; his conclusion is that 'international

bimetallism is impossible unless the production of the precious metals is made a State monopoly.'—An article by O. W. Staël von Holstein on the question, greatly discussed at present, of 'Reform of legal procedure in the North.'—'Recent investigation with regard to Columbus and the discovery of the New World,' by E. W. Dahlgren, has special reference to Mr. Harrisse's work.—H. E. Berner's article on 'the Swiss Democracy' is of considerable interest: it is continued in Part 7, which also contains an article by T. H. Rein on the lately-deceased Swedish thinker, Pontus Wikner, best known for his popular religious works, but also of repute as a philosopher.—Francis Beckett contributes a notice of a Græco-Roman statue of Anacreon, and two marble reliefs (John the Baptist and St. Jerome), lately added to Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen.—In 'Historical Dictionaries,' by Hjalmar Edgrén, that of Dr. Murray obtains special recognition.

ARKIV FÖR NORDISK FILOLOGI.—(Vol. 9. New Series, Vol. 5, Part 1.)—'Mythical representations in the oldest skaldic poems,' by Dr. F. Jónsson, shows that the earliest skalds (Bragi, Hornklofi, Thjóðolf), knew the myths in the same form as we have them later, which goes against Prof. Bugge's theories of Christian influence.—G. Cederschiöld, 'Has Orvar-Odd's saga borrowed from the Magus Saga.'—R. Geete, 'A Swedish Troy-book from 1529,' with a page or two of specimen: the MS. (in Stockholm) is a somewhat abbreviated translation of Guido.—Other philological articles by Kock, Kaalund, Beckman and Cederschiöld.—Part 2, Henrick Schück tries to show that the story of Völunder comes from that of Dædalus, but his proofs come mainly from the version in the Didreks Saga, and not from the much older and more purely northern poem.—Valtýr Gudmundsson has a long article to establish the fairly obvious meaning of the term '*litklæði*,' which lexicographers have stumbled over.—L. Larsson writes on Icelandic accents in the MSS., and Dr. Kock on various points of philology.

#### SWEDEN.

SVENSK TIDSKRIFT.—(Parts 13 and 14) contains an article by L. H. A. on the teaching of the Old Testament to children. The author contends that peculiar local and social colouring required for understanding the O. T. is quite beyond children, who ought therefore only to be told by their teachers such parts as are necessary for the understanding of the New Testament.—'Sophistic in Modern Morals,' by J. A. Eklund, is written with

special reference to modern Scandinavian theories.—‘Recent Unionist Literature,’ a review by O. Varenius, of works on the relations between Sweden and Norway.—A translation in verse by Ivar Damm of Poe’s prose piece ‘Silence’: the verse has quite the spirit of Poe’s own.—Among the literary notices is one on the interpretation of Ibsen’s dramas, in reference to an article by ‘Robinson’ in *Ordoch Bild*.

## ICELAND.

TÍMARIT HINS ÍSLENZKA BÓKMENNTAFJELAGS.—(1892. Vol. 13.)—‘Review of some foreign books about Iceland and Icelandic literature,’ by Dr. Valtýr Gudmundsson, deals principally with Prof. Bugge’s theories on Northern Mythology. Ernst Baasch’s ‘Die Islandsfahrt der Deutschen,’ etc., in ‘Forschungen zur hamburgischen Handelsgeschichte,’ Vol. I, and Arthur Reeves ‘Finding of Wineland the Good,’ together with some pertinent remarks on William Morris’s translation of the ‘Saga of Howard the Halt.’—Benedict Gröndal’s article ‘Sæmund’s Edda and Northern Mythology: the views of Bugge and Rydberg,’ is interesting and sometimes humorous.—Thorkel Bjarnason gives a sketch of Icelandic life, ‘Forty years ago.’—Janus Jónsson discusses the verses in the Saga of Hörder Grímkelsson, and Grímur Thomsen contributes a translation of Pindar’s second Olympian Ode.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

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*Apologetics; or Christianity Defensively Stated.* By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., etc. (International Theological Library). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1892.

While one of the most voluminous of modern theological writers, Dr. Bruce is generally regarded as one of the most vigorous and attractive. He has a facile pen, a clear style, and a very considerable amount of theological learning. The department he has chosen is not a very wide one and in his numerous works many of the same ideas recur, meeting us in different forms and different connections. All the same, his present work will not do anything to abate the deserved popularity of his writings, or to impair the credit of the series to which it belongs. On the contrary, the high standard which the editors have managed to attain in the previous publications of their series is here amply maintained, and Dr. Bruce has written with, at least, the same ability as in his former works. As usually treated, *Apologetics* is not a branch of Theological study which can be said to be particularly attractive, but under the hand of Dr. Bruce it has assumed something of an aspect of freshness and novelty, and the doubter who will take the trouble to study his pages may find much to assist him in the acquisition of clearer ideas as to the character of the Christian faith, if not to deliver him from his doubts. Between *Apology* and *Apologetics* Dr. Bruce draws a sharp distinction, and agrees with Schleiermacher and others as to the position they should occupy in theological study. *Apologetics* he defines as a preparer of the way of faith, an aid to faith against doubts whencesoever they arise, especially such as are engendered by philosophy and science. 'Its specific aim,' he says, 'is to help men of ingenuous spirit who, while assailed by such doubts, are morally in sympathy with believers.' 'It addresses itself,' he continues, 'to such as are drawn in two directions, towards and away from Christ, as distinct from such as are confirmed either in unbelief or in faith.' Its foes are therefore of its own household—doubting believers. Consequently, it has as little to do with dogmatic believers as with dogmatic unbelievers, and deals with such topics as are of present concern or are at present distressing or troubling current religious thought. Hence the subjects discussed by Dr. Bruce are those which form the burning theological questions of the hour. He divides his work into three parts. In the first of these he deals with the theories of the universe, contrasting the Christian with the anti-Christian. The second deals with the historical preparation for Christianity, and the third with the origins of Christianity and Christianity as the absolute religion. The conception of the work is of course excellent, and the treatment of it full. To the philosophical student or doubter the first part will prove the most interesting. Whether it will prove convincing is another question, and one which it is impossible to answer. We have some doubt as to the correctness of Dr. Bruce's exposition of Spinoza. He follows the line which is usually taken, but here, as elsewhere in this section, it may be questioned whether he has made sufficient allowance for difference of phraseology or exactly apprehended the meaning of the author he criticises. At the same time nothing can be further from his thought than to, in even the slightest degree, misrepresent or obscure it. As a controversialist, Dr.



Bruce is, in his aims and intention, fairness itself; and one is never at a loss to make out what he means himself. To the theological student probably the second part of the treatise will prove the most attractive. It presupposes a large amount of critical knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures, and not a few will be glad to know the position taken by the author in regard to the recent deliverances of Biblical critics. The last part in which Christianity itself is dealt with, will prove, we should say, of the widest interest. For good or for evil the generality of readers have little or no concern for the questions at issue among philosophers and critics. That which tells with them is the practical, and the probability is that the doctrine of Apologetics, which deals with Christianity on its practical side, will prove the most effective. But, be that as it may, few can read Dr. Bruce's work without profit. Dr. Bruce is not what is termed an 'advanced Theologian.' He belongs rather to what is often called the moderate evangelical school. But wherever he may be placed among theologians, his work is written with freedom and ability, and is pervaded by a profoundly tolerant and reverent spirit.

*The Gospel of Life: Thoughts Introductory to the Study of Christian Doctrine.* By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. London, Cambridge & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

The thoughts embodied in this volume were formerly used by Bishop Westcott in the shape of lectures during his twenty years' work at Cambridge. In their present form they can scarcely fail to prove acceptable to a very wide circle of readers. It is not often that a theological work of equal value makes its appearance. Dealing searchingly and clearly with all the great spiritual problems of the age, it is preeminently a book for those who feel the pressure of modern doubt and are seeking deliverance from it. Between Scripture and Reason the author believes there is and can be no real antithesis, and to Scripture and Reason therefore he looks for the solution of the present doubts. In the first place he points out that whatever difficulties exist arise from the fact that we are surrounded by mysteries. These mysteries he classifies as the mysteries of self, of the world, and of God, defining them with great clearness and showing wherein the mysterious element consists. Next he insists on the duty and necessity of seeking for a solution to them. To strive to banish them from thought, he remarks, is to impoverish our whole existence. 'They form,' he says, 'the solemn background of all experience, and the exclusion of every religious theory from our view of life will not in fact make life plain and intelligible.' On the contrary, to face them and to ponder over them reverently, he maintains, 'is to feel the glory which belongs to the nature of man unfallen,' while 'to have the assurance of solving them, so far as a solution is required for the guidance and inspiration of life, is to know the gift of God which is brought to us by the Gospel of the Resurrection.' In the third chapter the conditions under which a solution of these problems must be sought are considered. In the two following chapters the work of the Pre-Christian nations towards the solution of the problems in question and the solutions which they arrived at are discussed, while the remaining five deal with Christianity and its message. The work is remarkably suggestive. If anything its style is much too condensed. Anyhow, it is one of those rare books to which one can continually return and find both light and guidance and much matter for earnest thought.

*Old Testament Theology: The Religion of Revelation in its Pre-Christian Stage of Development.* By Dr. HERMANN SCHULTZ. Translated by the Rev. J. A. PATERSON, M.A., Oxon., etc. 2 Vols. Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark. 1892.

The subject dealt with in these volumes is not one to which much attention has hitherto been given in this country. It is doubtful whether there is a single volume, or a single systematic treatise of any importance upon it which is of purely native growth. In Germany such works abound, and the Messrs. Clark have done English reading theologians the no small service of from time to time issuing translations of some of them. Among the most recent works of this class best known in that country, and one which, within a few years, has reached its fourth edition, is that of which the two volumes before us contain a translation. Dr. Schultz is known among the Germans as a theologian of comparatively moderate views, and is believed by many to have succeeded in discovering the *via media* between the position of Biblical students on the one hand, like Delitzsch, and that of such as Stade on the other. But whether he has or not, the work before us is one of great erudition, and is written with a clearness and simplicity of style rare in a German work, and in a calm and judicial spirit. That he accepts the religion of the Hebrews as based on divine revelation need hardly be said. While accepting the main results of recent Biblical criticism regarding the Old Testament, his views as to the origin and authority of its scriptures, which are always treated with the greatest reverence, are, when compared with those of many, extremely moderate. The work divides itself into two parts, with the introduction usual in such treatises. The first part is devoted to a discussion of the origin, character, and development of religion and morals in Israel, down to the founding of the Asmonæan State, and, as a matter of course, treats of the Pre-Mosaic age of Israel, the traces of Semitic heathenism among the Israelites, the principles of Mosaism, the prophets, the sacred institutions of Israel according to the law, the Suffering Servant of Jehovah, and other kindred topics. The second part is more after the usual manner of such works. Here the various theological doctrines taught in the Old Testament are handled separately, and abundantly illustrated from the sacred text, under such headings as the Consciousness of Salvation, God and the World, the Doctrine of Man and of Sin, the Hope of Israel, Salvation as an Act of God, and the human instruments to be used in establishing the Kingdom of God. As an exposition of the position and views of the now dominant theological school in Germany, the work may be taken as authoritative. To laymen as well as to theologians its perusal and study will be interesting as well as instructive. As for the translation, it is enough to say that it has the author's approval, and has been executed by Professor Paterson.

*The Genesis and Growth of Religion.* By the Rev. S. H. KELLOGG, D.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

The lectures contained in this volume were delivered on the L. P. Stone foundation at the Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey, in the month of February last. Though dealing with a subject which has of late attracted a great amount of attention, they show that the subject has not by any means been altogether exhausted, and may be regarded as in themselves a very valuable contribution towards its elucidation. With the

existing definitions of religion, though their number is gradually becoming legion, Dr. Kellogg is far from satisfied, and after discussing the most famous of them, and pointing out what seem to him their most obvious defects, he ventures upon one of his own. In his opinion, 'Religion essentially consists in man's apprehension of his relation to an inviolable power or powers, able to influence his destiny, to which he is necessarily subject, together with the feelings, desires, and actions, which this apprehension calls forth.' The advantages of this definition, it is pointed out, are that it makes religion an experience which has to do equally with every part of man's nature, that it rests upon cognition, and that it is applicable to every form of religion, from the lowest superstition to the highest type of Christianity. Whether it will meet with universal approval is doubtful, but it is a definition which is not only as good as any which has recently been given, but less open to objection than some of them are, and probably comes as near to accuracy as any definition of so large and difficult a subject can. From the definition of religion Dr. Kellogg passes on to the consideration of its origin. Here he joins issue with the 'naturalistic' school of writers, and claims for religion an origin which is supernatural. All religion, he believes, was originally monotheistic, and in its polytheistic and other forms he sees so many declensions from a primitive monotheistic origination 'in the natural aversion of all sinful men from God.' As to the part which Israel has played in the religious development of the world, he remarks: 'It is not the peculiar glory of Israel, more than of any other people, that by their own exceptional national genius, they arrived at the conception of the one personal God, and gave it to the world. Rather is it the glory of the one God, that, notwithstanding the Shemitic-Hebrew tendency to the grossest polytheism and idolatry—a tendency even stronger among them than among the Indo-Germanic races, He yet, through repeated chastisements and undeserved deliverances, and especially by raising up and endowing with supernatural gifts a succession of witnesses for Himself, in the midst of a corrupt nation, brought Israel, despite itself, to show forth His praise and become, in a sense solitary and unique in history, a witness for Himself, that He, *Elohim*, and Jehovah, the *Elohim* of Israel, was God and none else beside Him.' Only on the ground of its supernatural origin and its endowment with supernatural gifts, it is further maintained, is it possible to explain Hebrew monotheism as a conquering power. In the course of his lectures Dr. Kellogg discusses fairly, and with much critical acumen, a variety of theories which have been put forth in connection with his subject, as for instance those of Max Müller, Herbert Spencer, Reville and Renan. From the side on which he writes, Dr. Kellogg's book may be regarded as one of the most important that has yet appeared.

*The Supernatural: Its Origin, Nature, and Evolution.* By JOHN H. KING. 2 vols. London: Williams and Norgate, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1892.

Whether Mr. King believes in the actual existence of the Supernatural is a question we must own our inability to answer. The title of his volumes would lead us to suppose he does; but certain phrases which occur in them would almost seem to indicate that he does not. Anyhow, his volumes are not about the supernatural as a real existence, but about 'supernal concepts,' their origin, nature, and development. They owe their origin, according to Mr. King, for the most part to our sense-impressions either such as are made upon us by objects without or by our physical condition. Thought or reflection has something to do with them, but their primary

basis is the impressions of sense, and according as these affect us, whether pleasantly or unpleasantly, is the nature of the concepts to which they give birth. Hence arise the ideas of fate, luck, fortune, which 'it would seem,' says Mr. King, 'as many affirm of the God-thought, . . . are inherent instincts in the mind.' And hence further, 'Every form of faith is the worship of luck.' Such, so far as we can make out, are what appear to be the fundamental ideas of the volumes before us. The inferences from them are not inspiring. They would take some such form as these : All men are naturally gamblers : Religion is simply a calculation of profit and loss. As to the evolution of 'supernal concepts,' Mr. King has a good deal to say which is both interesting and instructive, though the reader will probably have some difficulty in agreeing with him in all that he has to say when he turns to philosophising. As a collection of incidents illustrative of the ideas and emotions of men in a barbarous or savage condition, and of the survival of such ideas and emotions among those who lay claim to be civilized, and in many respects are, the volumes deserve to be commended. After the manner of Dr. Tylor, Herbert Spencer, and others, Mr. King has brought together a large number of such incidents and tells them well. Some of them have doubtless not escaped the attention of the Psychical Society. If they have, they will in all probability soon be made the subject of their earnest consideration. Ghosts, their origin and evolution, are treated of with an abundance of illustrative incidents in a couple of chapters, and not a little is said about dreams and the 'supernal concepts' born of them. The earlier phases through which these supernal concepts have passed are, according to Mr. King, represented by the religion of luck, of charms and spells, of the medicine man, of ancestral worship. The subsequent 'God-phases' which have been evolved from these have passed, he tells us, 'from confederations of associate tutelary powers to the ascendancy of a Regal deity, then to that of a Supreme Autocratic deity, and lastly, to that of the Universal Abstract God.' Mr. King's concluding sentence is significant and reminds us of Feuerbach. It is this : 'The highest form of Divinity we can ever know is human goodness.'

*Secret Service under Pitt.* By W. J. FITZPATRICK, F.S.A.  
London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co. 1892.

The revelations which are made in this very painstaking and carefully written volume appear much less striking than they would have done, had they been published before the final volumes of Mr. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*. Mr. Lecky had to traverse the same ground, and had access to the same series of documents which for a considerable time have been kept under lock and seal among the archives of Dublin Castle. Nevertheless the credit belonging to Mr. Fitzpatrick's volume is not thereby lessened. If we mistake not, he had already begun his researches and had arrived at his main conclusions previous to the publication of Mr. Lecky's volumes, while before the iron-bound chests in Dublin Castle had been unsealed for inspection, he had already succeeded in identifying 'Lord Devonshire's friend' with Turner. But whether or not, though not always pleasant reading, the volume is one from which much may be learned. One thing which comes out clearly is that Pitt was never in want of informers. Nor were they informers of the ordinary type. Some of them were men of good social position. Turner and M'Nally for instance were barristers ; so also was Magan, who had the chief hand in Lord Edward Fitzgerald's betrayal ; Higgins was 'Proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*,' O'Leary was a D.C.L. of Oxford, of whom it is said, 'none was more

generally loved and revered' by the people of Ireland; while Reynolds was a landed proprietor. All of these were men of ability, and the story which Mr. Fitzpatrick has to tell of most of them is very similar to that which was revealed but a short time ago before the Parnell Commission. As to the remuneration they received, Mr. Fitzpatrick has little that is reliable to tell. That immense sums were spent by the Government in obtaining their information is certain; but as to its destination or in what proportions it was paid, very little can be ascertained. One of them, however, when he began his career as an informer was insolvent; when he died his estate was worth £14,000. Several were in receipt of pensions of £300 a year. Five hundred pounds seems to have been an ordinary sum to pay. Captain Armstrong is known to have received throughout sixty years the handsome sum of £29,000; and yet, as we learn from Mr. Fitzpatrick, no trace of his name appears in the secret service money expenditure. For the history of Ireland during the period it covers, more especially for its political and social history, and as giving a not inconsiderable insight into the intrigues of parties and the machinery of Government, this volume of Mr. Fitzpatrick's is specially valuable. Points which others have simply touched upon or confessed their inability to explain he elucidates and adds much to our more detailed knowledge of the times.

*Culture in Early Scotland.* By JAMES MACKINNON, MA., Ph.D.  
London: Williams & Norgate. 1892.

Hitherto the subject here dealt with has been treated only in a fragmentary way, and the reader who desired to obtain anything like an accurate knowledge of it was under the necessity of consulting a very considerable variety of books and of plodding his way through much unnecessary matter. To Mr. Mackinnon is due the merit of having first made all that is at present known about it easily accessible. He has also contributed to it by his own researches, for while well acquainted with the works of such writers as Skene, Reeves, Anderson and Freeman, he is equally at home with those of Tacitus, Alcuin and Walafrid Strabo, and has used their words with effect as illustrative of his subject. Going back to the earliest times, Mr. Mackinnon discourses of the inhabitants of Scotland during the Stone Age and traces the history of the national culture down to about the close of the eighth century. Much that he has to say is necessarily of an archaeological character, but the way in which he uses the facts which Archaeology has brought to light to interpret the social condition of the people to whom they refer is deserving of praise. In what may be called the historical portion of his volume there are excellent chapters on the influence of Rome, SS. Ninian, Columba, Cuthbert, the Celtic and Northumbrian Churches, and the influence of the Norsemen. Mr. Mackinnon is right in maintaining that Candida Casa was for some time a considerable seat of learning and had a wide and beneficial influence both in Britain and in Ireland, but it may be questioned whether it is not somewhat misleading to claim the place as the seat of the earliest Scottish university, or at least a misuse of terms. There is somewhat of inconsistency in saying in one sentence that the 'effects of St. Columba's mission were largely superficial,' and then a few sentences further on ascribing to him a 'commanding power over the minds of a rude people,' and 'the influence of a moulding mind.' These, however, are matters that can easily be corrected. In other respects Mr. Mackinnon's volume is excellent, full of ripe scholarship, admirably written, and in every way deserving of the most careful perusal by all who would become acquainted with the social and intellectual condition of the country during the obscure period of which it treats.



*A History of Socialism.* By THOMAS KIRKUP. London & Edinburgh. A. & C. Black. 1892.

The admirable little book which Mr. Kirkup issued some time ago on Socialism; together with his various contributions to the subject, particularly among these his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, gives to his present volume something of an authoritative character. Its subject is not Socialism itself, but its history, and the volume may be taken as an excellent companion to the one referred to above. Its aim, of course, is in the main historical, but it is also expository and critical. In the introductory chapter Mr. Kirkup is occupied with an attempt to define what Socialism is. It cannot be said, however, that he is very successful. Mr. Kirkup admits this, but the fault, if there is any, is not his. To say what Socialism is with exactitude is perhaps impossible, at least it would appear to be so. It is in the air; everybody has a vague idea of what it is; but no one has yet succeeded in defining it satisfactorily. Definitions have, of course, been given in abundance, and Mr. Kirkup cites the best of them, but owns that even these are not satisfactory. 'In point of fact,' he remarks, 'Socialism is one of the most elastic and protean phenomena of history, varying according to the time and circumstance in which it appears, and with the character and opinions and institutions of the people who adopt it.' 'Most of the current formulas,' he further remarks, 'to which it has been referred for praise or censure, are totally erroneous and misleading.' Its principle, he affirms, as all other writers on the subject do, is of an economic nature. Still what Socialism itself is, and what its precise aims are, and how, or in what way, these are to be achieved, there seems to be no agreement. In dealing with the history of Socialism, which has now become one of the chief questions of the day, Mr. Kirkup goes back to the days of the early French Socialists, and beginning with Saint-Simon, traces its history and the history of its principal teachers and doctrines down to the present. In the course of his sketch, besides Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Louis Blanc, Mr. Kirkup deals with Owen and Lassalle, Karl Marx, and Bakunin, giving some account of their lives, expounding their various doctrines as socialists, and criticising them in a very clear and trenchant way. The most obvious reflection suggested by these doctrines is that their authors are to a large extent theorists, somewhat impatient, and not content to wait for the slow progress of events. Another is, that they have too implicit a trust in the efficacy of institutional arrangements, and make too little account of the wilfulness, faults and failings of human nature. Society is too tough an organism, and too 'protean,' to use Mr. Kirkup's word, to be readily re-shaped by an Act of Parliament, or by any number of them, or to be easily brought within the four corners of a theory, however admirable. Mr. Kirkup is thoroughly alive to this and hence the value of his criticism, and the excellent remarks in the following sentences:—'Socialism, rightly understood, may be regarded as a new phase of the discipline of humanity. For the transition into Socialism, if attainable at all, will be more difficult than many suppose. It must be gradual, preparing the minds and morals, the habits and institutions, of the mass of the people for a higher form of social economic life.' And again, 'Social progress is the result of a large process of discipline, and the training has often been most severe. It would appear as if mankind needed to be goaded and driven forward on the path of improvement.' And yet again, 'Social progress must in the last resort depend upon the character and capacity of the human beings concerned in it.' The real problem for the Socialist in this, as it has been in other ages,

is to find a sufficient motive, or rather to create one. How far they have succeeded, is a question which the reader will find discussed in Mr. Kirkup's concluding chapters. Here, as elsewhere in his volume, he will find much that throws light on a problem which, though apparently far from being solved, is to all appearance ripening with great rapidity, and will, sooner or later, force itself upon the attention of all.

*George Gilfillan: Letters and Journals, with Memoir.* By ROBERT A. WATSON, M.A., D.D., & ELIZABETH S. WATSON. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1892.

Though it is now some fourteen or fifteen years since the subject of this biography passed away, his name is by no means forgotten. It is still mentioned with respect and reverence not only in Dundee, where the greater part of his life was spent and with which his name will always be associated, but also in other parts of Scotland, and beyond the border. The biography has been long in coming and many have been the inquiries made after it. It has fallen, however, into good hands and has an interest which is more than local. For many years Mr. Gilfillan was not only a familiar figure in the streets of Dundee, he was also well known over a wide area on either side of the Tweed both as a preacher and a lecturer, while as a writer and an encourager of aspirants to literary fame he was fairly well known in most English speaking countries. In appearance, as his biographer remarks, he was somewhat leonine. In temper he was rather volcanic, but withal generous, open and frank almost to a fault. His sympathies were wide and deep, and not a few young writers of his time owed their earliest encouragement to his sympathetic and helpful counsel. His biographers deserve great credit for the skill and tact they have shown. Their memoir has the somewhat rare merit of being brief. Judicious selections have been made from Mr. Gilfillan's diary and letters. The story of his struggles and work is told vividly enough, but without exaggeration. Altogether this is a bright and cheery and excellent piece of biography, and will be read with pleasure even by those to whom its subject was unknown.

*Othello: A Critical Study.* By WILLIAM ROBERTSON TURNBULL. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Son. 1892.

This work, which in many respects is fairly entitled to be called a profound and luminous study of the whole of the Shakesperian drama, and more particularly of the tragedies, is partly expository and partly critical. Its primary subject is of course Othello, but in his desire to set the merits of that Shakesperian masterpiece before the reader with sufficient fulness, Mr. Turnbull has seen fit to preface his remarks upon it by an elaborate study of a more general nature. Whether this errs by being too long—it occupies fully one half of the volume—we must leave the reader to say. For ourselves, we are not disposed to say a single word against it. At first sight it certainly seems to be out of all proportion, but we very much doubt whether, on this score, any one who cares at all for the subject will find fault with it after a careful perusal. It is full of admirable remarks and excellent criticism, and lays a broad and ample foundation for the after part. The topics dealt with in this introductory part are such as the personality of Shakespeare, his chief interest in life, the spiritual character of his art-ideal, his criticism of life, his relation to his plots, and the moral spirit pervading his works. On all these and similar topics Mr. Turnbull

writes with great freshness and independence of thought, and has much to say that will prove extremely helpful to the student who wishes to enter into the spirit of the Shakesperian tragedies, or to acquire a living apprehension of their inner meaning. In the second part Mr. Turnbull arrives at the real subject of his volume, and after a chapter on the various characters in *Othello*, the ethics and æsthetics of *Othello*, discusses the various characteristics of the tragedy. Speaking of the tragedy as a whole, he says, it is 'the one which, having regard to its intrinsic qualities, the ethical difficulties of its painful plot, the wonderful psychological insight which it displays, and the deep interest which it shows in moral truth, best illustrates the measure of Shakespeare's many-sided genius.' As against Shelley, Lamb, De Quincey, and Dr. Dowden, he regards it as Shakespeare's greatest achievement, and in fact as the greatest dramatic work in modern literature. 'English literature,' he remarks, 'has nothing else like it; and the art and literature of no other country possesses so unique a product. The best dramas of Calderon, Corneille, Alfieri, Schiller, seem tame, and stiff, and mechanical, when compared with "*Othello*," with its beautiful and bewildering scenes of ardour and of agony, its heartrending explosions of volcanic passion, its tumultuous vehemence of tragic action, its moving and melting pathos, its genuine fire of inspiration. And this, I venture to think, is a judgment from which most readers will be less induced to dissent the older they grow and the deeper their study of Romantic Drama becomes.' The power and popularity of the play depend, he shows, not on the love interest but on the inherent and perennial interest of the entire story. With others he recognises in *Iago* the central figure of the play. His analysis of his character as well as his analyses of the characters of *Othello* and *Desdemona* are remarkable for their insight and keenness of touch. In short Mr. Turnbull's work is a piece of Shakesperian criticism which has rarely been surpassed either for its fulness or insight, or for its felicity of exposition. The reader will rise from its perusal with a new and profounder interest in all that Shakespeare has written, and find that he has learned many things about life and human nature upon which literary criticism does not ordinarily touch.

*The Works of William Shakespeare.* Edited by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT. Vol. VIII. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

This is the penultimate volume of the Cambridge Shakespeare to which we have so often called the reader's attention. It contains the plays of *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Cymbeline*. The notes, of which there are many, bear indication of great care and accuracy, and afford the student all the information that can be given him in reference to the text. Of Shakespeare the editions are innumerable, but for the student of the text this, which is now being issued under the sole editorship of Mr. W. Aldis Wright, one of the editors of the former edition, is simply indispensable.

*Drawing and Engraving: A Brief Exposition of the Principles and Practice.* By PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON. With illustrations selected or commissioned by the Author. London & Edinburgh. A. & C. Black. 1892.

With the exception of the Preface and certain additions, the letterpress of this volume has already appeared in the shape of two articles on *Drawing and Engraving* in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The

idea of printing these separately in their present beautiful form, and with their numerous and exquisitely executed illustrations was exceedingly happy, and deserves the highest praise. It is not every student who can consult the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, or have it by him for the purpose of study. By printing the essays separately they are placed within the reach of most, while the tasteful way in which they have been reproduced, besides giving them an additional attraction, is calculated to find for them a wider circle of readers. The study of Mr. Gilbert Hamerton's wise words and judicious counsels is itself an education. After forty years of study and practice he is well entitled to speak with authority, and few can read what he here says, in almost too brief a way, without deriving considerable insight into the arts with which he deals, or otherwise profiting from his guidance. The book is above all things practical, and nothing can be plainer or more excellent than the advice it contains. In the preface, after insisting on the fact that the first knowledge that ought to be acquired about drawing and engraving, whether by artists, or critics, or simple lovers of art, concerns technical conditions and necessities, and upon the necessity of respecting individual liberty in the technical use of materials, Mr. Hamerton goes on to give a plain statement—a statement, it would appear, which is greatly needed—of the reasons why drawing is desirable as a part of general education. The value of drawing as a training for the eye is admitted; the doubt is as to its value to the mind. In this connection Mr. Hamerton has some extremely judicious remarks. 'Mental education,' he observes, 'consists chiefly in exercising the faculties of memory and observation, in learning to be accurate, and in acquiring the power of co-ordination. Drawing, if rightly pursued, is a constant training to all these. It teaches us to observe, to be accurate, to remember, to analyse by dividing complex material into its component parts, and to co-ordinate by putting material together so that it shall form a consistent whole. Besides this, it opens the mind to ideas of relations by compelling us to take account of the laws of harmony and contrast which are more conspicuously visible in the graphic arts than they are in literature and in life, though they concern, in reality, everything that is human.' 'The study of drawing,' he further observes, 'as it may be most wisely followed by those who have no intention of using the art professionally, would cultivate rather the scientific or observant intellect than the artistic or creative.' To the objection that the habit of exact drawing leads the mind away from poetical sentiment to a matter-of-fact hardness and precision, Mr. Hamerton replies that a trained observation makes even feeling and imagination more intelligible to us. The volume is one, however, over which one would like to linger for a long time. It abounds in passages which, because of their intrinsic value, and of the way in which the thought is put, readily lend themselves to quotation; but we must restrict ourselves to the following two:—'The right progress of art in modern times could not be better assured than by following, in the case of each individual student, that course of development which humanity itself has followed.' And again, 'Landscape design is usually taught to amateurs by drawing masters, because it is thought to be easier than that of figures; but the choice of landscape for elementary instruction is unfortunate, because a beginner requires simpler and more definite material than is to be found in landscape nature. It is wiser for all beginners in art to study for a long time the most simple and definite objects which can easily be entirely detached from other objects and measured by themselves.' The illustrations to the volume are specially deserving of attention, both on account of the aptness of their selection and the skill with which they have been executed.

*The Beauties of Nature and the Wonders of the World we live in.*

By the Right Hon. Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., etc.  
London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

This is a charming companion to the two volumes its author has already published on the pleasures of life. It treats of the charms and wonders of the world we live in, and may almost be said to be written in praise of the natural world. With Victor Hugo's ideas as to the effect of natural scenery upon the human mind Sir John Lubbock has no sympathy. In this respect he is a disciple of Wordsworth, and believes that in nature there is much to elevate, inspire and gladden those who hold communion with her. It is not, however, on the pleasure nature affords that he exclusively dwells. Much the larger part of his volume is taken up with descriptions of Nature's works, so that while interesting his pages are also instructive. Here and there too one comes across a bit of antiquarian knowledge. The book in fact is one to turn our thoughts away from the hurry and worry of daily life and by directing them into new and delightful channels to refresh and invigorate them. For the accuracy of the scientific facts recorded Sir John Lubbock's name is an ample guarantee. Those who read what he has written will feel that he has done much to add a new pleasure to life. His pages are interesting and attractive from beginning to end.

1. *The Death of Oenone, Akbar's Dream, and Other Poems.* By ALFRED LORD TENNYSON, Poet Laureate. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.
2. *Lachrymæ Musarum and Other Poems.* By WILLIAM WATSON. Same Publishers. 1892.
3. *Amenophis and Other Poems, Sacred and Secular.* By FRANCIS T. PALGRAVE, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Same Publishers. 1892.
4. *Fortunatus the Pessimist.* By ALFRED AUSTIN. Same Publishers. 1892.
5. *Rasmie's Biddie: Poems in the Shetlandic.* By J. J. HALDANE BURGESS, M.A. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1892.
6. *The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri (Purgatorio I.-XXVII.) An Experiment in Literal Verse Translation.* By CHARLES LANCELOT SHADWELL, M.A., D.C.L. With an Introduction by WALTER PATER, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

The poetry of the quarter cannot be contemplated without deep regrets. The master-singer has passed away, and one who has recently risen into fame and whose published poems, though few in number, are wrought with almost faultless skill, has been laid aside, but only temporarily it is to be hoped, by one of the greatest calamities that can befall the human mind. For nearly a couple of generations Lord Tennyson has charmed his countrymen and the English-speaking people throughout the world with the genius of his song. The works he has left behind him are his best monument. In their noble verse they reflect the highest and best thought



of the time, and in them future generations will recognise the most popular and most finished poetry of the Victorian age. The little volume, the title of which stands first on our list, is apparently his last gift to the world. Whilst it was passing through the press, death, as in the case of his contemporary, Mr. Browning, took him. Though the works of his last years, we might say of his last days, and when he had long passed the ordinary limit of human existence, the poems it contains bear no sign of weakening power. There is in them the same loftiness of thought and the same exquisite workmanship. The three longer poems, 'The Death of Oenone,' 'St. Telemachus,' and 'Akbar's Dream,' belong to that class of short narrative-poems which the late Poet Laureate knew so well how to handle. In the last of them we have an exquisite lyric. 'The Bandit's Dream,' and 'Charity,' are remarkable for the intensity of feeling with which they informed. 'Kapiolani,' while excellent, is remarkable for the irregularity of its versification. 'The Churchwarden and the Curate,' recalls the 'Lincolnshire Farmer' of earlier days. Among the rest we have the well-known 'Riflemen, Form,' written so far back as the year 1859, and here re-published for the first time.—The workmanship of Mr. Watson's poems is if anything more perfect than that of any in his previous volumes. The most important, though not the longest piece in the collection, is the first, from which the volume takes its title. It appears to have been written immediately after Lord Tennyson's death, and begins:—

'Low, like another's, lies the laurelled head;  
The life that seemed a perfect song is o'er;  
Carry the last great bard to his last bed,  
Land that he loved, thy noblest voice is mute.'

The longest piece is entitled 'The Dream of Man.' Not less deserving of mention, though it is difficult to single out any one poem where all are so admirably done, are 'The Things which are more Excellent,' and 'England My Mother.' Mr. Watson's success has been great and deserved. There is no disputing his ability as a songsmith or his inspiration. His work is almost faultless and betrays the hand of a master in every line.—Professor Palgrave's volume is for the most part a reprint of poems which have already appeared either in his collection of 1870 or in various periodicals. It is not necessary that we should do more here than call the reader's attention to the volume, in which there are many pleasant and beautiful verses, partly religious and partly secular, as all readers of poetry already know. 'Amenophis,' the principal piece in the volume, is an attempt to trace the ideas prevalent in the Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish worlds respecting the existence of God and His relation to man and the world before those ideas had been consciously analysed and thrown into a philosophical form.—It may be doubted whether Mr. Austin has been so successful in his volume entitled *Fortunatus the Pessimist*, as he sometimes is. The versification and the thoughts are good, but the poem is languid. *Fortunatus* and *Franklin* are clearly portrayed and as character studies are excellent. So also are *Urania* and *April*. Still the want of action and energy are against the poem as a whole.—Mr. Haldane Burgess's 'Poems in the Shetlandic' is a collection of fresh and vigorous verses, full of life and poetry. The dialect in which they are written is strange and quaint, and at first sight almost unintelligible. Mr. Burgess, however, has anticipated his reader's wants in this direction by adding a comparatively full glossary. We regret to learn from the preface that failure of sight has prevented him from giving something like a history of the Shetlandic words. Most of them are apparently from the Old Norse. His glossary, however, is quite sufficient to enable the reader to unravel their meaning so as to

enjoy the thoughts they embody.—Mr. Shadwell's volume is an attempt to reproduce in English both the sense and the music of the first twenty-seven cantos of Dante's *Purgatorio*. The metre he has chosen is that of Andrew Marvell's Horatian 'Ode to Cromwell,' composed in stanzas, each consisting of one pair of iambic eight syllabled lines, and one pair of six-syllabled lines. That this mode of versification has its advantages there can be no doubt. It is nearer to the original than the blank verse of Cary and Longfellow, and handier for treatment in English than the terza rima, which, as Mr. Shadwell remarks, is not an English metre and presents great difficulties in the way of finding three rhymes suitable to the meaning. Besides these, it has other advantages, all of which are sufficiently discussed by Mr. Shadwell in his brief but pregnant preface. As for the translation, though not precisely literal or word for word, it conveys the meaning of the original with remarkable fidelity and is evidently the result of long and patient labour. The aim has manifestly been to represent both the thought and the spirit and the music of Dante, and that this has been done with a very considerable amount of success cannot be denied. As an example of Mr. Shadwell's rendering we take the following almost at random from the Fifteenth Canto :—

'How can it be one good provided  
For many shall be so divided,  
As richer each to make  
Than if but few partake ?'  
'Because your apprehension clings  
Only,' he said, 'to earthly things,  
From true light your endeavour  
Will gather darkness ever.  
The untold, unbounded good above  
Runs to combine itself with love,  
Even as the sunbeam's light  
Is drawn to bodies bright.  
It renders warmth for warmth, whereby  
The fervour of our charity  
Is to its fullest measure  
Increased from heavenly treasure.  
For all the love that springs below,  
More love, more perfect love doth grow,  
As glass to glass returns  
The light thereon that burns.'

Here again is a fine rendering from the Fifth Canto.

'All we by violence came to die,  
Sinners to life's extremity :  
But there, when on our sight  
Was opened Heaven's light,  
Repenting, pardoning, at last  
At peace with God from life we passed,  
At peace with Him whose grace  
Moves us to seek his face.'

It would be easy to cite other passages equally felicitous. Among them not the least successful are those of a speculative or philosophical cast, to which Mr. Pater has referred in terms of praise in his excellent introduction. Mr. Shadwell has printed the Italian text on the page opposite to his translations. In appearance the volume is all that can be desired. The paper, printing, and binding are excellent, more especially the last which is exceedingly chaste.

*Finger Prints.* By FRANCIS GALTON, F.R.S., &c. London & New York : Macmillan & Co. 1892.

This is not the first of Mr. Galton's contributions to this curious and important subject. In the proceedings of various Societies as well as in the August number of the *Nineteenth Century* for 1891, he has already dealt with. In the volume before us he gives a further account of his studies and researches and of the results to which he has been more recently led. A striking passage on page 113 indicates the object for which it has been mainly written. 'We read,' says Mr. Galton, 'of the dead body of Jezebel being devoured by the dogs of Jezebel so that no man might say, 'This is Jezebel,' and that the dogs left only her skull, the palms of her hands, and the soles of her feet; but the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are the very remains by which a corpse might be most surely identified, if impressions of them, made during life, were available.' In the second half of this passage, in fact, we may be said to have the thesis of the volume if instead of 'palms of the hand,' and 'soles of the feet,' we read finger prints. With the larger questions of the prints of the palm of the hand or of the soles of the feet Mr. Galton does not so much concern himself; but restricts his observations chiefly to those of the fingers. And very curious and important is the information he adduces in support of his theories. First of all we have something about the history of the use of finger prints, from which it would appear that this use is by no means a modern invention. Next we are instructed how prints from the fingers have been taken, and how to take them after the manner adopted by the author at his anthropometric laboratory at South Kensington. Afterwards the character and purposes of the ridges, whose lineation appear in the finger print, are discussed. This brings Mr. Galton to the main part of his subject, and in the subsequent chapters he deals with the various patterns formed by the lineation, their persistence, their evidential value, the frequency with which the several kinds of patterns appear on the different fingers of the same person, severally and in connection, the various methods of indexing the prints, the practical value of his inquiry, whether the patterns are transmissible by descent, and whether any value attaches to them as indications of race and temperament. On this last point Mr. Galton is compelled to give a negative answer. The answer he expected to find was the opposite, but his expectations, he tells us, have been falsified. Roughly speaking the patterns formed by the ridges upon the bulbs of the finger may be classified under three heads, viz., arches, loops and whorls; but a wider classification gives nine distinct genera and these again exhibit among themselves many minute differences. As was fitting the text is abundantly illustrated. The subject itself, as need hardly be said, is one that is gradually acquiring an increasing importance, and in some places has already been utilized to establish the identity of individuals. In his tenth chapter Mr. Galton gives an account of the Bertillon system as adopted in France for the registration of criminals, and claims that a system of identification by finger prints would be in every way surer. His fifth chapter contains a translation of Purkenje's famous thesis or *Commentatio* delivered at the University of Breslau in 1823, in which an attempt was first made to deal with the subject here handled. Practically, however, the general reader has here a new science. In Mr. Galton he has a sure guide, who, as might be expected, has surrounded his subject with a kind of fascination from which it is difficult to break away.

*The Early Narratives of Genesis* (Macmillan) by Professor H. E. Ryle, consists of eight papers, which originally appeared in the *Expository Times*, on the narratives in the first eleven chapters of the book of Genesis. The aim of the author, whose excellent volume on the canon of the Old Testament we mentioned some time ago, is to give an explanation of the narratives with which he deals, to point out their superiority over similar narratives from other sources, and to exhibit their religious teaching. Though not following the traditional lines of interpretation, Professor Ryle holds fast to the great truth that the narratives in these eleven chapters, equally with the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures, were written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. That the first of the narratives, or that the two accounts of the creation of the world were intended to give us a scientific account of that great event, he does not hold. Nor is he in favour of forcing the words in order to make their message square with the teaching of modern science. The object of the narratives, he believes, is religious. The method he adopts in dealing both with these and with the rest may be gathered from the following sentence, 'We employ in our search the two Divine forces of knowledge—the perfect Revelation of things spiritual in the person of Jesus Christ, and the progressive Revelation of things material through the gifts of the Holy Spirit to the intellect of mankind.' From this it will be seen that, while perfectly loyal to the truth of Scripture, Professor Ryle aims at being perfectly loyal to the best results of modern criticism and modern research. All through, his pages are pervaded by a profoundly reverent and a richly sympathetic spirit. The religious lessons he finds in the narratives are of the highest and most helpful. His lectures are characterised by scholarship, keenness of spiritual insight, and a large experimental knowledge of the human heart. As an aid to the study of the chapters it deals with, this little volume will be found of the greatest service. Few can read it without being conscious of an access of light.

*Words of Counsel to Englishmen Abroad* (Macmillan) is a volume of sermons preached by the Right Reverend C. W. Sandford, Bishop of Gibraltar, with some three or four exceptions, to various congregations of Englishmen scattered far and wide over the Continent of Europe. How far the Bishop's diocese may extend we must own we do not know. Some of the sermons, however, have been preached as far away from Gibraltar as Athens, Constantinople, Odessa, and Shechem, and Jerusalem. They are all plain statements of Christian truth. Controverted doctrines are avoided. The Bishop has confined himself to inculcating upon his countrymen their plain duties as Christians, and this he has done with that force and eloquence which comes of simplicity and plainness of speech and earnestness of convictions. To those who have heard any one of them during their travels, the volume will be a pleasant and instructive memento.

*Christ, the Morning Star* (Hodder & Stoughton) is the title of a posthumous volume of sermons by the late Dr. Cairns, Principal of the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Dr. Cairns was known throughout Scotland and, though perhaps in a less degree, in England, not only as a scholar and an able theological writer, but also as an eloquent preacher. It would be difficult to say in which respect his fame was the greatest. As a preacher he always attracted great crowds. He was far from what may be called a sensational preacher. His matter was always superior to his manner, and it was the matter or teaching of his sermons, and the obviously earnest and thoroughly effective manner in which he made what he had to say tell, that drew hearers to hear him. The sermons in the volume are in all twenty-one. They are rich in Evangelical teaching, and were evidently written with the clear and definite aim of edifying those to

whom they were spoken. Among the twenty-one, those who used to hear him and still cherish his memory, will doubtless find one or more which they heard delivered by the living voice. The sermons have been selected and edited by the preacher's two brothers. They have done their work of selection and editing well.

*The Letter and the Spirit* (Speirs) by George Trobridge, is a series of studies in the spiritual sense of Scripture. Mr. Trobridge is a disciple of the New Church, and a follower of Swedenborg. Questions of criticism, such at least as are dealt with by Biblical critics, he leaves aside, and aims at bringing out the inner or spiritual sense of the Scriptures. With Biblical critics and all of that kind indeed he makes short work, and has little patience. His own endeavour in the course of his studies is to defend the Bible against them, or to put it in his own words—'to show that the early chapters of Genesis do not describe the creation of the physical universe and the outward lives of primitive men; that the history of the Israelites is recorded, not for that nation's glory, or because God specially favoured them above all other people, but to convey in graphic form lessons bearing upon man's spiritual regeneration; and that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, David and Solomon, and other Scripture characters are held up to us not as examples for our imitation, but as typical characters.'

The most recent issues of Messrs Macmillan & Co's. cheap but handsome reprint of the late Professor Maurice's works, are the *Theological Essays*, *The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament*, and *The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament*. The first is probably the best known of all its author's numerous works. Its original publication in 1853 caused a very considerable amount of controversy, and ultimately led to Professor Maurice resigning his Chair in King's College, London. It has now reached its fifth edition. The second volume mentioned is also in its fifth edition. In some, and in fact in almost all respects, it may be considered a commentary on the history of Israel, from the inauguration of Saul down to the exile. It is full of statesmanlike views, and draws out many striking and true lessons respecting the history treated in its pages. The last mentioned volume is here printed for the ninth time, and, unless we are mistaken, may claim to have proved itself the most popular of all the late Professor's works.

*The Four Men and other Chapters* (Hodder & Stoughton) is a volume of eight sermons by the Rev. Dr. Stalker. 'The Four Men,' the sermon which gives the title to the volume, treats of the man the world sees, the man as he is seen by the person who knows him best, the man as he sees himself, and the man whom God sees. This sermon, together with the two sermons on Temptation and Conscience, were preached in America. As for the rest, two of them were preached in the University Chapel, Glasgow.

*The City without a Church* (Hodder & Stoughton) is an address divided into three parts, on the well known words of St. John. The name of the author is omitted from the title page, but the address seems to have had a considerable sale.

By Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier a new edition of the late Dr. Bonar's *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne* has been issued. It has the advantage over other editions of being printed in large type, and in having an Appendix in which additional information is given on such points as the results of the Mission of Inquiry into the State of the Jews, together with facsimiles of Mr. M'Cheyne's handwriting.

*Horae Sabbaticae* (Macmillan) is the third series of Essays contributed by Sir James Stephen to the *Saturday Review*. The Essays contained in this volume are distinguished by the same characteristics as those in the other



volumes. The only Theologian dealt with is Paley in a paper on his evidences. Berkeley, the Idealist, is discoursed upon in three papers. Tucker, whose *Light of Nature* is now well nigh forgotten, Tom Paine, Bentham and Cobbett have an essay each. Burke and the French Revolution are discussed in four, in the last of which Burke's views on the Revolution are contrasted with De Tocqueville's. De Maistre and his writings also occupy four papers, and among other subjects treated are the Rights of Conscience and Moral Controversies.

*Alfred, Lord Tennyson* (Nisbet) by the Rev. Arthur Jenkinson, is a brief study of the life and poetry of the late Poet-Laureate. The aim of its author has been to provide a short introduction to such of the late Poet-Laureate's poems as are concerned with the highest spiritual problems of the day. While attempting this, he has also woven into his text most of the facts in Lord Tennyson's life and so made his volume both a biography and a criticism. That Mr. Jenkinson knows his Tennyson and has entered into its spirit, need hardly be said. In analysing the different poems taken in hand considerable skill is shown. As a guide to the understanding of Tennyson's position and greatness as a poet, it may be said, considering its size, to be excellent. Perhaps its worst fault, if it be a fault in these days of impatient reading, is its brevity. For our own part we could have wished that Mr. Jenkinson had written more.

*Guide—Programme du cours d'histoire de l'Art, avec un Album* (Paris, L. Allison et Cie.) par F. Lhomme et S. Rocheblave is apparently the first volume of a new series to be issued in the interests of Secondary Education. It is not exactly a handbook or a manual. It aims more at directing the attention both of teacher and pupil to the things which ought to be studied in order to acquire an intelligent understanding of the subject rather than to burden their minds with a mass of facts. The idea is excellent and has been worked out by the authors with skill. The course consists of thirty-seven lessons, the last of which is on music and has been contributed by M. Albert Cahen. As for the rest, beginning with the definitions and divisions of Art they bring its history down to the present day. For the lessons dealing with ancient and modern Art M. Rocheblave is responsible, and for those on the art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance the responsibility rests with M. Lhomme. At the end of each of the lessons an excellent list of works to be consulted by the reader is given. The album should be of great service, and cannot, we should say, be issued too soon.

*Les Huet, Jean-Baptiste et ses trois Fils*, par C. Gabillot, is the new volume of the series 'Les Artistes Célèbres' now so well known, and recently sanctioned by the French ministry of Public Instruction in the Fine Arts. As was fitting in the case of an artist so prolific as Jean-Baptiste Huet, the volume is abundantly illustrated. In his own day—he was born in 1745—Huet deservedly enjoyed a great reputation. He is now neglected, but unjustly. It is to be hoped that M. Gabillot's volume will help to vindicate his claims, and to call attention to his works, many of which, paintings as well as engravings, are of sufficient importance to justify a revival of interest in them.

*Fourier: Seine Theorie und Schule* (Fock, Leipzig) von Dr. Otto Warschauer is the second part of the author's 'History of Socialism and Communism in the Nineteenth Century,' and contains a clear and valuable development of Fourier's doctrine. Equally valuable is the chapter devoted to Fourier's School. The work is in a measure critical as well as historical, and deserves the attention of all who would understand one of the principal movements of the day.

In *The Theory of Wages* (Macmillan) we have a handy little volume in which various labour problems and especially the theory of wages in its applicability to the eight hours question are temperately and succinctly handled by Mr. Herbert M. Thompson, M.A. The theory enunciated regards the product of industry as being divided up amongst the agents of production in shares, all of which are interdependent upon each other. The product it is held is not fixed but variable, while the contributions to it are mainly labour, organising power, use of capital, and use of land, rivers, etc., and the share to be allotted in itself is a varying proportion of the varying product. The notion of a fixed share falling or belonging to any one or more agents is rejected. As to the eight hours question Mr. Thompson confines himself to pointing out the difficulties with which it is beset and the data requisite to be known before any judgment can be formed as to what are likely to be the results of the adoption of an eight hours day.

*An Analysis of the Ideas of Economics* (Longmans) by L. P. Shirres, B.A., is for the most part an investigation into the exact significance of the various terms used in economics. In the first place Mr. Shirres carefully distinguishes economics from its related sciences, and then, after enlarging upon the scope and method of his volume, deals searchingly and systematically with the ideas underlying such terms as wealth, value, exchange, credit, money, capital. Generally speaking he adopts the stand-point of Professor Jevons. With the theories of Mr. Macleod, to whom however he pays a high compliment, he has many points of difference. Though known as the 'dismal science' in the hands of Mr. Shirres Economics, so far as treated in this volume, may be said to have lost that character. Whatever may be said of his theories, and we shall not undertake to gainsay them, the author has succeeded in investing his subject with no inconsiderable amount of interest.

*Central Government* by H. D. Trail, *The Electorate and the Legislation* by Spencer Walpole, and *The Land Laws*, by Frederick Pollock, are the most recent issues in Messrs. Macmillan & Co's 'English Citizen' series. The former appears in its third edition and contains numerous corrections. It deals with the executive as distinguished from the legislative part of the Government and the fact that it has been so well received is a sufficient indication of its value as a short and intelligible guide to the understanding of the functions and interrelations of the different departments of the Government.—Mr. Spencer Walpole's volume is in its second edition. As its title indicates it deals with the origin, relations, prerogatives and privileges of the different parts of the legislature.—Professor Pollock's work has reached its second edition. It deals with the land laws of England, not of Scotland nor of Ireland. In this edition numerous alterations have been made, in order to bring it up to date. All the volumes contain a vast mass of information and may be commended for their accuracy and utility. They are books which ought to be in the hands of every citizen.

*Mother and Son* (Macmillan) by the Rev. the Hon. E. Lyttelton, deals with various problems in the home-training of boys. It is the expansion of a lecture delivered some time ago at Cambridge and Worcester. There is in it a good deal of wise counsel put in a very simple way, which will doubtless prove acceptable to fathers as well as to mothers who have been more than perplexed with the diversities in the characters of their sons and the difficulty of training them rightly.

During the last quarter Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have added two more volumes to their excellent series of translations from classical authors. The first is a continuation of W. H. G. Dakyn's version of the works of

Xenophon. It contains Books III. to VII. of the *Hellenica*, Agesilaus, the Polity of the Athenians, the Polity of the Lacedæmonians, and the pamphlet on Revenues, known as *Ways and Means*. Those who are possessors of the former volume know the care and scholarship which Mr. Dakyns has brought to the execution of his task. Here he has left nothing undone either to make his rendering accurate or to enable the reader to arrive at an intelligent understanding of the text. The notes are numerous and always informing, while the introduction, (or shall we say prologomena?) is full, and such as is not often met with in translations.—The second volume is Mr. Welldon's translation of the *Ethics of Aristotle*. Four years ago we had from the same pen an English rendering of the same author's *Politics and Rhetoric*. The rendering is not word for word; no attempt has been made to make it such. Mr. Welldon's aim seems rather to have been to make each sentence an exact English equivalent to the Greek. We cannot pretend to have compared the whole of the text with the original, but so far as we have, it is well executed. Of the analysis prefixed to the translation we can speak without reserve. The notes, of which there are perhaps too few, are excellent.

*The Breechloader and how to use it* (Cassell) by W. W. Greener, may be commended to sportsmen or any who wish to be sportsmen, as containing a very lucid explanation of almost all that relates to the breechloader and its use. Its component parts are all accurately described, and illustrations are given of them. The different kinds of breechloaders are dealt with, and various particulars in respect to gunpowder, shot, etc. There is also a section on 'The Etiquette of Field and Course.' Its perusal may help to prevent careless handling and the consequences which so often result from it.

*Stories*, (A. & C. Black), by Ascott R. Hope, is a collection of old friends in new connections, all of them having appeared before in different volumes. We are glad to meet them again. They will doubtless commend themselves to a new generation, as they did to the old. In a good-tempered preface Mr. Hope defends his practice of writing short stories. We heartily agree with him. Critics who desire three-volume stories for the young, have met with a different class from those that are generally to be met with. These prefer stories short and dramatic, and of this sort are those in Mr. Hope's *Stories*.

*For Better for Worse*, (Alex. Gardner), by Gordon Roy, is a Scotch novel, in which the love experiences of a minister and some two others are told with very considerable skill. The plot is well sustained, and works out in a manner scarcely expected. Angus Sutherland, the hero, has excellent parts, and is well portrayed. Lilius, the heroine, if we may so name her, is a singular study. Sir John Forde and Ray are well done. Altogether the story is one that may be read with pleasure.

Messrs. A. & C. Black have begun their issue of the new edition of the 'Waverley Novels,' which is to be known as the 'Dryburgh Edition.' The first volume, *Waverley*, is before us. Judging from this we should say that, while not an ideal edition, it is probably as good as could reasonably be expected at the price. The paper is good, the type clear, and the binding tasteful. The illustrations have good names to them: but they are not satisfactory, at least in this volume.

*The Girls and I*, (Macmillan), is a veracious history by Mrs. Molesworth, whose name is a sufficient guarantee for its excellence.